

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SPENSER'S "STONY AUBRIAN"

Of Spenser's Irish rivers only one remains unidentified. It appears in the second line of his catalogue:

There was the Liffy rolling downe the lea,
The sandy Slane, the stony Aubrian . . .¹

Joyce, after proposing the division of *Aubrian* into *au* (Ir. *abh*, "river") and *brian* and noting the place it occupies in Spenser's list, assumed that "it is somewhere in South Munster, and that it is itself a considerable river."² He concludes: "'The stony Aubrian' is a mystery, and, so far as I am concerned, will, I fear, remain so."

Since Joyce wrote, many identifications, all of them unsatisfactory, have been suggested: the Owenbrin in the Joyce Country,³ the Breanach between Cork and Kerry,⁴ the Urrin in Wexford,⁵ as well as Waterford Harbor and the Bray-Dargle.⁶

¹ *Faerie Queene*, Book IV, Canto xi. 41, 1-2.

² P. W. Joyce, "Spenser's Irish Rivers," *Fraser's Magazine*, xcvi (1878), 325; reprinted in *The Wonders of Ireland* (1911), p. 93.

³ C. L. Falkiner, "Spenser in Ireland," *Edinburgh Review*, cci (1905), 179, note. The Owenbrin (*Abhainn Brain*) is a very small river and cannot be considered for etymological reasons, as *Brain* could not become Spenser's dissyllabic *brian*. Jenkins supports this identification in *PMLA.*, lxxx (1938), 361, but offers no convincing evidence.

⁴ T. A. Rahilly, "Identification of the . . . Aubrian . . .," *Journal of Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2nd ser., xxii (1916), 49-56. Again, the Breanach is insignificant as a river.

⁵ W. H. Grattan Flood, *ibid.* The objections to this identification are listed by Miss Henley.

⁶ Pauline Henley proposed Waterford Harbor in her *Spenser in Ireland* (1928), p. 93. That Miss Henley's suggestion is a desperate guess is evident from her note and from her later identification of the Aubrian with the Bray-Dargle (*London Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 28, 1936).

While Joyce could find no river name like "Aubrian," he unknowingly proposed the right approach. In commenting on the first river in the catalogue, the Liffey "rolling downe the lea," he associated "the lea" with "the old plain of Moy-Lifè, celebrated in ancient Irish writings."⁷ In a very old place-name poem on *Mag Life*, "Plain of Liffey,"⁸ the opening stanza states that "Liffey the bright" got her name from the plain through which she flows. In the absence of the name Aubrian for Spenser's river, can we identify the river from the name of the plain it flows through? The search is an easy one, for legends relating to *Mag Bregain*, "the Plain of Bregan" (later *Moy-breghan* or *Moy-brian*), are quite as numerous as those connected with the Liffey.

Mag Bregain is the ancient name for the plain in southwestern County Tipperary which extends from Knockgraffon on the Suir westward to Emly and into County Limerick, roughly coterminous with the modern baronies of Clanwilliam. Its early inhabitants were the Muscraigi de Maig Bregain, or the Muscraigi Chuire (later Muskery Quirk); in it "along the flanks of the Galtees" lived the Etharlaigi, a little-known tribe.⁹ Its Milesian background is to be seen in numerous stories, including the *Dindshenchas* of *Glenn Breogain*, which explains the name *Bregan* as Milesian,¹⁰ and that of the two followers of Eber son of Mil, who fell at the hands of Eremon in the battle of Breoghan (Cath Breoghain) in *Mag Femen*.¹¹ Its later history need not detain us long.¹² Suffice

In spite of her discovery that the "Water of Bray" was once called (in an early Latin document) the Water of Brien because it flowed through the *Ui Briúin Cualann*, this identification has little more to recommend it. As the Dargle is not in South Munster, it fails to satisfy Miss Henley's earlier condition that the Aubrian be "somewhere in the southeastern area, as it is mentioned in the same line as the Slaney" (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 93). Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, pp. 662-63, lists seventeen separate localities named *Ui Briúin*.

⁷ Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁸ Edward Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, II (Dublin, 1906), 60. "It is to be noted that Life is properly the name of the plain. . . . The river is usually called *aba Life*" (p. 104). *Moy*, as in *Moy-Lifè*, is a later form of Old-Irish *mag*, "plain."

⁹ Westropp, "Dun Crot . . . on the Galtees," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXV (1920), 378.

¹⁰ Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, IV (1924), 302.

¹¹ Keating, *History of Ireland* (Irish Texts Soc. ed.), II, 106-7; see Dinneen's note (IV, 313) on *Freamhainn*.

¹² For numerous references, see E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, s. v.

it to say that after the great Brian Boru (Boromhe) strengthened its fortifications about 1000 A. D., it was held for centuries by his descendants the O'Briens and was "virtually O'Brien land down to 1578."¹³

Spenser's interest in Mag Bregain is readily explained. For the river which flowed through Mag Bregain was none other than his own Arlo,¹⁴ which had its source in the north side of the Galtees not far from the source of his "Molanna"¹⁵ on the western slope of Galtymore—Spenser's Arlo Hill, the "highest head" of his "old father Mole." The beauty of the Glen of Aherlow has frequently been pointed out.¹⁶ It was Spenser's good fortune—and ours—that his Irish surroundings were capable of heightening the descriptive power of the *Faerie Queene*.

In Spenser's time, although Aherlow was the recognized name for the region, the older names still survived. A letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1576 announces Sir Donnell O'Brien's surrender of "the castle of Moyebreghan,"¹⁷ and as late as 1600 Carew writes: "By consent *Harlowe* and *Muskeryquerck* were left to me, which I think I have sufficiently harassed."¹⁸

Much, however, as Spenser was attracted by the charm of the wooded ranges of Kylesmore (*Coill Mór*, the Great Wood) and

Mag Bregain, Muscrige Breogain, Mag Iarthair Feimhin, Glenn mBreogain; J. O'Donovan, *Leabhar na gCeart: the Book of Rights* (1847), p. 45 note; Westropp, *Proc. R. I. A.* XXXIII, 444-92, xxxv, 378-84.

¹³ Westropp, "Dun Crot," *op. cit.*, p. 379. Two years later (in 1580) when Spenser arrived in Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey, the Desmond rebellion was being "suppressed."

¹⁴ Flynn, *The Book of the Galtees* (Dublin, 1926), p. 21: "*Eatherlach* was the old Irish name of the place. That was corrupted into Natherlach (from *na Eatherlach*) by the early English invaders. Later it became Aherlow in a dozen forms, including Spenser's 'Arlo.'" See Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s. v. Etharlach; Glenn Eatharlaigh.

¹⁵ See my article in *PMLA.*, L (1935), 1048-9.

¹⁶ See Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; Westropp, *Proc. R. I. A.* XXXIII, 478-9; xxxv, 380-81. As for the river itself: "The river of Aherloe beginneth in the red bog of Ballybrien . . . and runs through Ballyaskane, between the manor of Donnegrot . . . and the lands of Ballylondrie . . . and thence, through Galbally, towards County Tipperary" (Faints Eliz., 3317, 5932).

¹⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1574-85, p. 37.

¹⁸ Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1589-1600, p. 494.

Arlo,¹⁹ they constituted a perpetual menace to his security. They sheltered the rebellious Desmonds and O'Briens of his day. Hence his hope expressed in the *View*²⁰ that Aherlow might be garrisoned by the English: "Moreover on this side of Arlo, neere to Moscrie Whirke, . . . I would have 200 more to be garrisoned, which should scoure both the White Knightes countrey²¹ and Arlo, and Moscrie Whirke, by which places all the passages of theeves²² doe lye, which conuaye theyre stealthes from all Mounster downwarde towards Tippararye."

There can no longer be any doubt concerning the identity of Spenser's "stony Aubrian." The Galtee range is known to geologists for its "old red sandstone, which rises up from under the limestone of Mitchelstown Valley."²³ The stream is particularly "stony" near its source in the Galtees, where it is nearest to Kilcolman. If Spenser chose to call it by a name which would baffle later generations, there is ample evidence for such a practice elsewhere in his poetry²⁴; perhaps where he had already applied the name *Arlo* to Galtymore and to the Glen of Aherlow, he merely wanted to avoid confusion. It would be difficult to prove that he would have explained the *-brian* through the Milesian story of Bregan,²⁵ but that would not be necessary: he was painfully aware of the existence of many living Brians, MacBrians, and O'Briens,²⁶

¹⁹ Kylesmore was immediately to the north of Kilcolman. Fitzmaurice could "attack Kilmallock from the fastness of Kylesmore, the Great Wood, which was almost a continuation of the Aherlow woods, and easily accessible from there" (Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 228).

²⁰ Globe ed., pp. 668-9. See Gottfried, "Irish Geography in Spenser's *View*," *ELH*, vi (1939), 133, 136-7.

²¹ To the west and south of Galtymore.

²² Ballingaddy, between Aherlow and Kilmallock, is in Irish *Baile in Gadaidhe*, "Town of Thieves!"

²³ Murray's *Handbook for Ireland*, 6th ed., pp. [15], 401.

²⁴ For example, his river "Molanna." See note 15 above.

²⁵ His familiarity with Milesian stories, however, is discussed in my "Spenser's Tale of the Two Sons of Milesio," *MLQ*, III (1942), 547-557.

²⁶ Mentioned *passim* in the *View*. Doubtless Spenser coined the names of Brianor and Briana with Brian in mind (Henley, p. 127).

Specific references to the MacBrians of Ara and the O'Briens of Aherlow appear frequently in the State Papers; e.g., "Red Roche, . . . M'Brian O'Gonagh, M'Brian Arra, O'Brien of Arloe and others" (C. S. P. I. 1574-85, p. 90); see also Carew MSS, 1575-88, p. 41, etc. (The Ara river, north of the Aherlow, runs parallel to it and joins it in Muskery Quirk before reaching the Suir.)

whose terrifying war-cry of "Launlaider" meant "the strong hand"²⁷ and who were satisfied to trace their ancestry to Brian Boru only six hundred years earlier.

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NOTES ON THE PLIMPTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE COURT OF SAPIENCE

When Robert Spindler was preparing his critical edition of the *Court of Sapience*,¹ he was not aware of the existence of a comparatively early manuscript of this poem then in the library of the Earl of Carlisle at Naworth Castle, Cumberland, and now in the Plimpton Collection at Columbia University. Miss Eleanor P. Hammond also did not make use of this manuscript for her text of the *Court of Sapience*² and I too was ignorant of its existence when working on the sources of the text.³ A full description of this MS.⁴ may be found in the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-37, II, p. 1799), while the additional stanzas at the end of the poem, unique in this MS., have been printed by Karl Brunner.⁵ Through the courtesy of the Columbia University Library, the present writer has been able to obtain a complete set of photostats and hopes, when more favorable circumstances permit, to bring out a new edition of this poem, making full use of the Plimpton manuscript. In the meantime, a few notes on the new MS. may not be without interest.

²⁷ *View*, Globe ed., p. 632 (mentioned by Irenaeus in a "Milesian" passage). The Irish phrase *lámh láidir* (lit., "powerful hand") has come to mean "might without right."

¹ *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, Heft 6, Leipzig, 1927.

² *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, Durham, N. C., pp. 258-67.

³ *The Sources of the Court of Sapience* (*Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, Heft 23), Leipzig, 1932.

⁴ An unpublished Master's Essay by Grace M. Schubert (*The Court of Sapience. A Collation of the Plimpton Manuscript, with Introduction and Notes*, June 1937) is on deposit in the Columbia University Library.

⁵ "Bisher unbekannte Schlussstrophen des *Court of Sapience*," *Anglia*, LXII, 258-62.

Although the present MS. wants the first folio, the second contains the last two stanzas of the "Proheme," a fortunate circumstance, since neither of the other two early manuscripts (Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 21 and Harley 2251) preserves this Proheme. Hitherto this part of the poem has been known only from the Caxton edition⁶ and this circumstance has led some scholars⁷ to attribute the Proheme to Caxton himself. The occurrence of the two stanzas in this manuscript, a MS. clearly independent of the Caxton edition and probably earlier in point of date, substantiates Spindler's belief (p. 119) "dass Caxton als Autor des Proömiums nicht in Frage kommt; vielmehr sprechen alle Kriterien dafür, dass der Verfasser des Hauptgedichtes auch der Dichter des Proömiums ist." The two Stanzas are printed below with variant readings from the Caxton text as printed by Spindler indicated by C:

(9)

I you honoure blesse lawde and glorifie
 And to whose presence my boke shall atteyne
 His hasty dome I pray hym modifie
 60 And not detraye ne haue it in disdayne
 ffor I purpose no makynge to distayne
 Meke eere good tunge & spirit pacient
 Who hath thise thre my boke I hym present

(10)

And as hym lust let hym detray & adde
 65 ffor sith I am constreyned for to write
 Be my souerayn and haue a mater gladde

57 blesse]blysse C lawde]loue C 59 hasty]hastyf C 61 to]for to C;
 corrected to to by Spindler. 62 eere]herte C 64 lyst C &]or C 66

⁶ Spindler, *op. cit.*, p. 20, states erroneously that four copies of Caxton's edition are known, viz. British Museum; St. John's College, Oxford; Earl Spencer, Althorpe; and Maurice Johnson. The Maurice Johnson copy is, of course, identical with the British Museum one, having been purchased by the Museum in 1898. The Earl Spencer Caxtons were purchased by Mrs. Rylands for the John Rylands library as long ago as 1892. Compare Seymour de Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons*, Bibliographical Society, 1909.

⁷ So Joseph Ames (Ames-Herbert-Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1810-19, I, 325-30) and William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861-63, II, 114-16. See Joseph Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*, EETS, LX, p. cxi, and Spindler, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-19.

And can not please paynt [] ne endite
 Lete ignoraunce & childhode haue the witte
 I aske no moore but god of his mercy
 70 My boke conserue from slaundir & envy

BelBy C glad C 67 [] *word omitted in MS.*, enourne C 68
 witte]wyte C 70 conserue]conferme C.

Three points are worth noting. In line 67, the scribe, apparently not sure of the reading in his original, has left a space, a procedure followed elsewhere in the text. In line 68, the reading "wyte" (punishment) of the Caxton version is clearly preferable to the "witte" of the Plimpton MS. and is confirmed by the rhyme. For the Caxton reading in line 70, Spindler has the following note (p. 217): "*conferme from ist sonst nicht belegt; jedenfalls Kontamination zweier Konstruktionen: to keep from + to confirm sth. (sic).*" The present manuscript proves that the Caxton reading is no more than a compositor's error, probably brought about by the similarity between the long *s* and the *f* of the middle English hand.⁸

The nine additional stanzas forming the "Tractatus de Spe" together with an Epilogue were printed by Brunner; two of his readings deserve special discussion. For lines 2315-17, Brunner prints:

And how that she as grounde of all chaunce
 Diffundis the certeyne abidyng
 Of blis to man *and* lyfe all way lastyng

Now the editor notes that the first word in line 2316 is found in the MS. as "Diffund is"; as I read the word,⁹ the MS. has "Diffinid is." Both readings, it seems to me, are possible. According to Brunner, the meaning is that Hope as ground (i. e. bottom of the well) of all chance pours out the certain abiding, etc.; the other reading would yield a different meaning, namely that Hope is defined (set forth) as ground (Foundation) of all chance, as the certain abiding, etc. Whatever the author may have intended, it seems quite clear from the Plimpton MS. that the scribe accepted the latter reading.

For lines 2356-59, Brunner offers the following reading:

⁸ The same point is made by Miss Schubert in her Essay.

⁹ Miss Schubert, *op. cit.*, gives the same reading.

O souerayne prince O god invariaunt
 what wight may haue grace more exuberant
 than with good hope in the ther cost to fede
 who trowith in the heven shalbe his mede

The meaning of the third line (Miss Grace Schubert incidentally adopts the same reading) is not, however, clear to the present writer. As I read the manuscript, the eighth word in this line is not "cost" but "oost." In this case, the meaning would be: "what man may have more exuberant grace than, with good hope in The, to eat 'ther' (read the) Host (the Sacrament)." We may note in passing that the earliest use of "exuberant" recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1503.

Whether these additional stanzas are by the author of the *Court of Sapience* or not is a problem discussed both by Brunner and Schubert. Brunner states emphatically "dass diese Strophen dem Dichter des *Court of Sapience* angehören ist wohl nicht zu bezweifeln," while Miss Schubert is more hesitant. She declares: "It is quite possible, of course, that the *De spe* was written by the scribe who copied the Plimpton MS." My own observations tend to confirm Brunner's belief; in any event, it seems certain to me that the scribe was not the author of these lines. Twice words are interlineated and one line (2364) contains one word too many. The line in question reads:

Through hope he gete life love grace & lastyng blis

It would be metrically desirable to delete either "life" or "love." Finally in line 2350 "also" is given as the rhyme-word for "portreture: cure." It seems most unlikely that the scribe, if he were also the author of these lines, would have permitted these errors to creep into the text.

Since it seems reasonable to suppose that these lines were also written by the poet of the *Court of Sapience*,¹⁰ some explanation must be offered for the prose portion printed by Spindler as the conclusion of the poem in his edition. As the manuscript used by Spindler (Trinity R. 3. 21.) ends at line 2079, the editor depended for the remainder of the text on Caxton's edition. To any student of Caxton, the explanation for the presence of the prose section at the end of the poem is relatively simple. Whenever in the course

¹⁰ Brunner, *op. cit.*, points out that from the point of view of context, these lines form an integral part of the poem.

of printing a volume Caxton found that he had some blank pages at his disposal, he utilized this space by printing whatever material came to hand. Whether these texts were relevant or irrelevant to the main text seems to have been a matter of little concern to the earliest English printer. For example, at the end of Lydgate's *Horse, Sheep and Goose*¹¹ he added some stanzas which had no connection with the poem whatsoever and in addition included a further treatise described by Blades as "The proper use of various nouns substantive and verbs." Other such instances include the Caxton edition of the *Temple of Brass* (i. e. *Parliament of Fowls*), the *De consolacione philosophiae*, and the *Governayle of Helthe*.¹² The last quire of the Caxton edition of the *Court of Sapience* is a quaternion and the poem itself ends on the verso of the fourth leaf. Caxton, having thus several blank leaves on his hands, chose to fill two of these with the matter printed by Spindler, though this prose passage has nothing whatever to do with the poem itself.

These few points indicate that a new edition of the *Court of Sapience* is most desirable. Such an edition should include the "Tractatus de Spe" and omit the prose section printed by Spindler, which, as we have seen, is entirely due to Caxton. In addition, the Plimpton MS. offers a considerable number of new and valuable readings for the main text, since it is a manuscript of prime importance. With this new text, the present writer plans to include a revision of his own work on the sources of the poem.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

THE RISE OF THE CATALAN LANGUAGE IN THE 13TH CENTURY

One of the most significant factors in the process of secularization, which, beginning in the 13th century, eventually was to change the entire aspect of medieval life, was the ever-increasing use of the vernacular in prose. To meet the rising demands of laymen

¹¹ See my paper "Lydgate's *Horse, Sheep and Goose* and Huntington MS. HM 144," *MLN.*, LV, 563-69.

¹² Compare Blades, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 61, 67 and 214.

for literary entertainment and scientific instruction of all kinds in their own language, the vernacular had to attack the sovereignty of Latin in one field after another. As early as the first decades of the 13th century authors in France, Italy, Germany and in the Spanish kingdom of Castile successfully approached the task of developing vernacular prose in various fields and for various purposes according to the individual requirements of their countries and surroundings. In Castile, especially, popular prose was steadily on the increase in scientific and literary works by the middle of the century. Except for a few attempts in religious prose which can be dated at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century,¹ that the Catalan language followed the general trend of the age, and the number of original works composed at that time is extremely small. The great bulk of datable texts written in Catalan belongs to the 14th and 15th centuries.² It is in the period of Catalan conquests overseas that the beginning of a literature written in the Catalan vernacular falls; hence it seems clear that the rise of the Catalan language and literature is related to the political development which raised the little country in an astonishingly short space of time to the very climax of its political existence.³

The great increase in territory and political influence which the *Condes-reyes* of Catalonia-Aragon gained in Southern France through marriage and inheritance in the course of the 12th century proved very unfavorable to the political and cultural development of Catalonia. For inheritance of the county of Provence and suzerainty acquired over a number of powerful feudal lords in South-

¹ See J. Miret y Sans, "El més antic text literari escrit en català," *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, iv, no. 1 (1914); *Homilies d'Organya* (Barcelona, 1915).

² Morel-Fatio, "Katalanische Literatur," *Gr. Gr.*, II, ii, 82.

³ The region where Catalan was spoken at the beginning of the 13th century, before the great conquests, is, on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, defined by the political borders of the Principality of Catalonia, a region to which in the ecclesiastical organization the diocese of Tarragona (the Roman province *Hispania Tarraconensis*) corresponded; on the other side of the Pyrenees it included the county of Roussillon. See W. Meyer-Lübke, *Das Katalanische* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 1 and 183. On the historical and ethnic conditions for the linguistic separation of Catalan from Provençal and Spanish respectively see Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*, pp. 158 ff. and 173 ff.

ern France meant that the interests of the rulers of Catalonia-Aragon were gravitating towards their French dominions and that cultural activities were strongly influenced by southern cultural life centred in nearby Toulouse. Furthered by the close linguistic relations between Catalan and the language of the troubadours, provençal poetry found a swift and unrestricted acceptance in Catalonia and was cultivated throughout the 12th and 13th centuries by the Catalan feudal lords and noblemen, among them members of the Catalanian dynasty like Alfons (I of Catalonia, II of Aragon), Peter II, Peter III and James II.⁴

As a consequence Catalan popular poetry, which had made a promising beginning with religious poetry and probably also with epic was regularly made to conform to the poetic style and metrical system of Provençal poetry.⁵ Even Ramon Lull, the first true Catalan poet after the Provençal intrusion, did not entirely free himself from the convention. Still less did the other poets who formed the school of transition between the poets of Provençal allegiance in Catalonia and the first true Catalan school of poetry, the consistory of *Gay saber*, founded at the end of the 16th century.⁶

But, while the cultural dependence of Catalonia upon Provence lasted throughout the century, its political dependence had reached a sudden end almost a century earlier when Peter the Catholic's interference in the Albigensian wars ended in his defeat and death on the battlefield of Muret (1213). This event, although of catastrophic consequences for the position of the Count-kings in Southern France, must be considered to have given birth to a new Catalonia-Aragon, new in the sense that it was to rely mainly on the constructive powers of the Catalan people.⁷ For one of the

⁴ See M. Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España* (Barcelona, 1861), chaps. II and III.

⁵ See M. G. Silvestre, *Història sumària de la literatur catalana* (Barcelona, 1932), pp. 5-10. For the problem whether there had existed a popular epic in Catalan the theory of an original verse text underlying the *Crònica* of James I is important. The investigations made by M. de Montoliu show that epic poetry also followed the general trend of the time in undergoing Provençal and French literary influence. See Montoliu, "Sobre el primitiu text versificat de la crònica de Jaume I," *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica*, I (1928), 83 f.

⁶ See Morel-Fatio, "Katalanische Literatur," *Gr. Gr.*, II, ii, 76 f.

⁷ For the political events see in general F. Soldevila, *Historia de Cata-*

decisive factors which turned James I, Peter's young son, from the policy of favouring the heretics of Southern France and inclined him to revive the *reconquista* with a military expedition against the Saracen strongholds in the Balearics must undoubtedly have been the insistence of the Catalan merchants that the Mediterranean trade routes be freed from the constant threat of the Moorish corsairs. Catalan cities and a great part of the Catalan nobility supported the king with arms, ships and money, while the troublesome Aragonese aristocracy, being chiefly concerned with the maintenance of their old rights of independence, refused help in the most critical moments of the struggle. It is natural, therefore, that the glorious conquest of the Balearic islands, Valencia and Murcia (1229, 1233, 1239, 1266) was intended by the king to further primarily the interests of the Catalans. They were given preference in the colonization of the new territories, especially in the kingdoms of Valencia and the Balearics, which were united with Catalonia-Aragon, but also in Murcia, which James according to a previous agreement had conquered for the Castilian king.⁸ These great conquests were the first political events in the history of Catalonia to prove of paramount importance for the expansion of the Catalan language.⁹ For along with their methods of trade, cultivation of the land, local government, etc. the Catalans carried their language into the conquered regions which, thereafter, despite some differentiations in dialects, formed with the mother country a linguistic unit.¹⁰ In the new Spanish kingdom of Valencia the reception of Catalan was probably furthered by the fact that the newly introduced idiom could find a responsive background among the Christian population which had retained some Romance from the pre-Arabic period.¹¹

lunya (Barcelona, 1934), I, chaps. x ff.; R. B. Merriman, *The rise of the Spanish empire* (New York, 1918), chap. vi.

⁸ Ramon Muntaner, *Cronica*, chap. xvii stresses the fact that all the inhabitants of the cities in Murcia which he mentions were good Catalans and spoke *el bell catalanesch*.

⁹ Meyer-Lübke, *Das Katalanische*, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ This must be stressed in spite of the fact that the local patriots of Valencia and the Balearics both claimed that they possessed a peculiar language. See Morel-Fatio, *Gr. Gr.*, I², 843; A. Rubió y Lluch, *Del nombre y de la unidad de la lengua catalana* (Barcelona, 1930).

¹¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Das Katalanische*, pp. 160, 183.

The spectacular successes of the king of Aragon-Catalonia and his peoples not only resulted in the spread of the Catalan language in the enlarged area under Catalan rule but also extended the radius of its influence to all those maritime places along the coast of Spain, Africa and the Italian peninsula, where representatives of the Catalan merchant class, the *còsols de mar*, settled under the protection of privileges granted by the king and where the Catalan maritime customs (known under the name of the *Llibre del Consolat de mar*) were in force.¹² But, in contrast to this swift rise of the Catalan language as the idiom of Mediterranean interrelations, the process of introducing it for the conduct of public affairs was a rather slow one. Although James I adapted his policies to the wishes of his Catalan noblemen and cities, he nevertheless had to consider the equal claims of his Aragonese population, and he would probably have met with strong resistance from one quarter or the other, had he tried, as his contemporary on the Castilian throne had done, to introduce a vernacular in his chancery.¹³ It was politic, therefore, to keep Latin as the official language, and, in fact, this language retained its position throughout the century in spite of attacks from both sides. Time and again, however, Catalan or Aragonese, sometimes also Castilian, according to the region concerned, replaced it in the internal administration,¹⁴ and very soon after the conquest of the

¹² The result of the discussion concerning the origin of the *Llibre dels costums marítims* or *del Consolat de Mar* is that the original text was in Catalan, written in the second half of the 13th century, probably about the same time that the Catalan redaction of the famous Catalan code, the *Usatges de Barchinona* was made. See Silvestre, *Història sumària*, pp. 68 ff. On the spread of the language in general see A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva* (Barcelona, 1908-1921), II, Introd. pp. xxii ff.

¹³ On the use of vernacular in the chanceries of the Spanish kingdom see *Gr. Gr.*, II, ii, 407. On old Catalan documents see A. Griera, "Carácter de los documentos catalanes antiguos," *Spanische Forschungen*, I (1928), 142 ff.

¹⁴ There are various instances which show that general orders directed to officials of both Aragonese and Catalan speaking regions were written in both languages, or in Castilian and Catalan. See Is. Carini, *Gli archivi e le biblioteche di Spagna . . .* (Palermo, 1884), II, 27 and 28 f., in which are published extracts of documents found in the registers of the kings in the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*.

Moorish kingdoms an Arabic department must have been incorporated in the chancery, with an Arabic clerk (*alfaqim*) capable of drafting an Arabic letter.¹⁵ A great advantage was won by the Catalan language in its constant race with Aragonese for victory over Latin at the time when the kingdom of Valencia and also the Balearics were considered belonging to the Catalan-speaking regions: not only were most of the privileges granted to the Catalan colonists written in Catalan,¹⁶ but on many occasions the king addressed the Arabic communities of the kingdom of Valencia in Catalan, the language which he wished to spread and popularize as a means to unity among the multilingual and multiracial population of these regions.¹⁷

In contrast to the first period of Catalan conquests, the second victorious period marked by the expansion of Catalan rule overseas from Sicily to Greece and over the islands of Malta, Gozo and Sardinia (1282-1322), was not attended by a considerable increase in territory where the Catalan language would prevail. Although Catalan filtered into the Sicilian dialect and into Greek and although it was later accepted as the official language in the chanceries of the new countries which had come under the control of the Aragonese dynasty and was spoken by the ruling classes there, it did not, except to a certain extent in Sardinia, supersede the native idioms as it had done in the Arabic kingdoms of Valencia, Mallorca and parts of Murcia.¹⁸ This period of great

¹⁵ A later instance is a *littera* (sic!) *morisca* dated Valencia, 1284, Apr. 10. See Carini, *loc. cit.*, II, 30.

¹⁶ The kings granted special privileges when they provided their followers with land. See the *carta de població* by James I for citizens of Barcelona, granted in 1270, in A. de Capmany, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, el comercio, etc. de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1779-1792), II, 35 f., no. XVI. The salutation formula of this document is in Latin while the text is in Catalan.

¹⁷ A good instance is provided by a document dated 1283, Aug. 2, beginning "Pere etc. als feuls seus alemins (chiefs of the Arabic communities) et veyls et a tots altres sarrayns de les aliames (Arabic or Hebrew communities) del regne de Valencia. . . ." See *Documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1849 . . .), VI, no. LVII.

¹⁸ On the spread of Catalan in Greece and the Orient see the various studies by Rubió y Lluch, especially "La llengua catalana a Grecia," *Primer Congrés internacional de la llengua catalana* (Barcelona, 1906),

political events, however, furthered the Catalan language in a way which was not without influence in its rise to the dignity of a literary language: Catalan was introduced as the language of politics and diplomacy in the chanceries of the states bordering the Mediterranean basin. The Sicilian enterprise of Peter III, which had been initiated by his father James who had contrived his son's marriage with Constance, daughter of Manfred of Sicily, was preceded by an intensive political preparation through negotiations for peace alliances and agreements with foreign powers on a scale hitherto unknown in medieval history.¹⁹ While the negotiations with Castile, Portugal, England, France and the Roman Church proceeded as usual in Latin, those with the Arabic rulers along the African coast and in part also those with the Italian maritime cities seem to have been conducted mostly in Catalan.²⁰ The reason for the choice of the Catalan language in these instances was that the negotiations were with maritime powers and involved specific interests of the Catalans. The king was to rely mainly on the advanced nautical skill and daring spirit of his Catalans when he built up a strong fleet and started the dangerous expedition to Africa and Sicily. He was therefore eager to grant whatever they asked as recompense for their help. Even when his interest was merely political the king tried to interpret his actions as promot-

pp. 236-247. In certain parts of Sardinia Catalan replaced the native idiom, but to-day it remains only in Alghero. See H. Kuen, "El dialecto de Alguer y su posición en la historia de la lengua catalana," *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica* (Barcelona, 1932-34), 124. See in general A. Farinelli, "Italia e Spagna," in *Divagazioni erudite* (Turin, 1825), p. 238.

¹⁹ See H. Wieruszowski, "Conjuraciones y alianzas políticas del rey Pedro de Aragón contra Carlos de Anjou antes de las Vísperas Sicilianas," *Boletín de la Academia de historia de Madrid* (1935), pp. 547-620 (quoted as "Conjuraciones").

²⁰ See M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce . . . concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale . . .* (Paris, 1865), nos. II, III and IV (pp. 280 ff.). II and III are alliances concluded by James in 1271 and 1274 with the king of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco respectively. IV is the great commercial treaty between King Peter and Miralmumin Bohap (Abu Hafs), king of Tunis (1285). Also in Catalan are the treaties concluded by James II with the Signoria of Genoa, with the Sultan of Egypt, the Emir of Morocco, the king of Tunis (1292, 1306-1314), etc. See Capmany, *Memorias históricas* etc., IV, nos. VII, VIII, XI and XII; Mas Latrie *Traité de paix etc.*, nos. VII-XII (pp. 292 ff.).

ing the special advantage of the Catalan merchants and shipowners, for example in the case of his military intervention in Tunis about two years before he began his Sicilian expedition.²¹ The use of Catalan in most of the documents dealing with political and commercial problems overseas was certainly considered a means of demonstrating that the king was first of all speaking in the name of his Catalan people. In addition, the choice of language may have been a matter of convenience. For important missions to countries which already offered markets and customers or which might offer them, the king often chose laymen as his negotiators—representatives of the wealthy city of Barcelona,—²² for whom Catalan was certainly the natural idiom to use in their negotiations; for direct discussion of terms with the Moors or for the final drafting of agreements (which were mostly in Catalan and Arabic) they could avail themselves of the translators and interpreters who were at hand in the *consolats de mar* in such places as Bugia, Tlemcen and Tunis.²³ But, apart from practical considerations which may have led to the use of Catalan in political negotiations at that time, could the patriotism of the Catalans, which on the eve of the Sicilian expedition rose quickly and fiercely under the impact of the growing enmity of France and the Guelph powers in Italy have found a better means of expressing itself than the use of its own language? Indeed, when the king of France, alarmed by Peter's preparations, asked for an explanation in a challenging letter written in French, Peter answered in the same tone—and in Catalan.²⁴

²¹ I published Peter's missive to the *universitas* of Barcelona dealing with his military enterprise in Tunis, dated 1279, Oct. 21, in "Conjuraciones," pp. 599 f., no. 16.

²² Such was Bernardo Porterii who between 1276 and 1279 was sent on various missions to the kings of Morocco and Tlemcen and to the Sultan of the Mamelukes. See "Conjuraciones," p. 581.

²³ When Peter in 1280 sent to Tunis the governor of Valencia, Eximio de Luna, he provided him with Catalan and Arabic credentials. I published the Catalan version, including the notice that an Arabic copy had been made, in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (1934), p. 177. See also "Conjuraciones," p. 580, note 6. It is significant that in the negotiations with the kingdom of Granada where no special interests of the Catalans were involved, Latin was used; *ibid.*, p. 583.

²⁴ The two warlike letters are published by A. de Saint Priest, *Histoire de la conquête de Naples*, iv (Paris, 1849), p. 303.

From the point of view of later political and cultural developments, including that of the language, not only the public but also the private activities of the great kings of the 13th century seem consistently to have strengthened Catalan cultural life. What strikes the student of the kings' registers in the Archives of Barcelona, which are especially complete and informative for the second half of the century, is that among the Latin documents concerning the administration of the country and foreign politics are many pieces dealing with the household and court of King James and of the Infant Peter who later became king and that almost all these pieces are in Catalan. These account books, diaries, lists of presents and objects (mostly jewels and mass requisites) pledged for loans,²⁵ and above all the *Ordenament* for the officers of Peter's household in 1276-77,²⁶ are suggestive of the Catalan tone which the princes of this dynasty had imposed upon their court, where the major-domo, the treasurer and numerous other officers were Catalans (not Aragonese) and where the idiom used for all kinds of administrative affairs was Catalan too. This preference for the Catalan language and the Catalan way of life was certainly due to King James' earliest political experiences when in his troubles with rebels against his rule—mostly Aragonese nobles—he had found loyal assistance among the Catalan noblemen and the Catalan cities. Furthermore, since he began his career as a soldier when he was nine years old and spent almost three-quarters of his life on horseback in campaigning, he had but little education, probably

²⁵ They are all transmitted to us in the registers of the kings. Among the inventories the earliest is the one drawn up by *Simon de la Capela del seyor rey* about 1258-59 (Reg. 10, fol. 104v) in which, along with precious mass requisites, books are listed, for example: *l quern de les estories*, probably a volume containing lives of the Saints.—Some of the registers, like the Regs. 31-35 of the Infant Peter, are entirely filled by accounts. One document of this type, an account rendered by a Catalan shipping company (ca. 1265), found in Reg. 17, fol. 117 ff., is of tremendous political importance because it lists all the ambassadors from the far eastern countries sent to the court of James I and for this reason traveling in one of the company's ships. See Fr. Carreras y Candi, "La creuada de Jaume I a terra santa 1269-70," in *Miscelanea historica catalana* (Barcelona, 1905-1906), II, 273-305.

²⁶ The *Ordenaments del Senyor rey en Pere* (1276-77), transmitted only in a fragmentary condition, are published in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, IV, no. II.

knew no Latin, and did not indulge in poetical activities in Provençal fashion, as had been the custom in his family.²⁷ In his conversation as well as in his correspondence he used the idiom in which he had been brought up in the house of the Templars of Montson in Catalonia.²⁸ Because of his great influence, his example together with the protection which he probably gave to Catalan authors like Ramon Lull and others contributed immensely to the rise of Catalan to the dignity of a literary language.²⁹ In fact, at the end of his long reign (1213-1276) the Catalan idiom appeared for the first time in original literary works. It was then, about 1272, that Ramon Lull, who had frequented James' court in his secular life, started his encyclopedic production in which the Catalan language first replaced the conventional Provençal in poetry and was shown to be suitable for all literary undertakings, including even the development of a philosophical vocabulary;³⁰ and it was at this time that the king or a person near to his throne composed the *Llibre dels feyts del rey En Jaume*,³¹ the first of a series of great Catalan military chronicles.

The Catalan character of James' court also had political consequences which in turn influenced the development of the language in what we may call its political and diplomatic career. Catalan appeared to be established firmly enough at James' court to resist the influx of new and strong cultural elements which entered the household of the Infant Peter with the arrival in Catalonia of Constance of Sicily, the princess whom James had chosen for his son. The account books of the Majordomo of the young couple list a great many persons of Italian origin in the permanent entourage of the young princess, recognizable by the *Ser* and *Madonna* added to their names, and they paint a detailed and vivid picture

²⁷ See Silvestre, *Història sumària*, pp. 32 f.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32. See also J. Massó Torrents, "Historiografia de Catalunya," *Revue Hispanique*, xv (1906), 506 f.; Milà y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, p. 490.

²⁹ See Silvestre, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. and 64. On the cultural and literary activities of the Aragonese dynasty from James on see Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, I, pp. XXXIV ff. and II, pp. XXII ff.; H. Finke, "Die Beziehungen der aragonesischen Könige zur Literatur, etc." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII (1910), 20 ff.

³⁰ Silvestre, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff., 52 ff.; N. Olwer, *Literatura catalana* (Barcelona, 1916), pp. 79 ff.

³¹ Silvestre, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

of the comings and goings of innumerable *Lombart* (= Italian) and Sicilian merchants, physicians, minstrels, falconers, messengers, and later—after Manfred's disaster—political refugees. They also preserve the daily entries of expenditures for all kinds of luxuries in food and clothing to which Constance had been accustomed at the magnificent court of her father but which had been unknown to the Spartan kings of the Aragonese dynasty.³³ Yet in these accounts there is no trace whatsoever of the use of the Italian language for any purpose. Quite the contrary: the young princess and her Italian pages were carefully taught to speak, read and write the Catalan idiom.³³ The political consequences of this care given to the Catalan education of the young Italians at Peter's court are clearly to be seen in the rôle which Constance and some of her pages, like Loria and the Lancias, played later in the Sicilian events. After the conquest it is true Peter tried to reconcile the Sicilians to the rule of another foreigner by making use of the great respect and authority which members of the royal family who were descended from Manfred and nobles of Loria's rank enjoyed among the population. Yet he could be sure that because of their careful Catalan education they would not impede his efforts to establish a completely Catalan government—a goal which he pursued with such severity as finally to arouse against himself the same Sicilian patriots who had formerly risen up against the French regime of Charles of Anjou.³⁴ In fact, when in 1283, just before his return to Catalonia, he left the government of Sicily in the hands of Constance and his son James and under the protection of Roger Loria, whom he nominated admiral of Catalonia and Sicily, the government continued to function as part of the Catalan government at home. The Sicilian registers show that affairs were run in exactly the same way as in the mother country. This was true also in the matter of languages. In administrative affairs Latin still predominated,

³³ See my article, "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'impresa siciliana, I," *Archivio storico italiano*, XVI (1938), 146.

³³ On Lancia and Loria see notes 35 and 37. The account books after the arrival of Constance (1262) list the expenditures for a *scola* and an *escolanus* for the young people at Peter's court. See "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona," p. 149.

³⁴ See M. Amari, *La guerra del Vespro Siciliano* (9th ed., Milano, 1886), I, chap. IX.

with Catalan slowly filtering in, while in private correspondence members of the royal family, Loria and the Lancias used mainly Catalan.³⁵ About the time (1296) when the Sicilian chancery was taken over by Conrad Lancia,³⁶ one of the Italians at Peter's court who were praised by Muntaner for their *bell catalanesch*,³⁷ Catalan began to occupy the place as official language in the Sicilian part of the Catalan "empire" which it was to hold for many centuries to come.³⁸ The tremendous political influence which Catalonia-Aragon then gained in the reign of James II quickly raised the idiom to the height of its importance, ranging it alongside Latin and Aragonese at such courts as the Roman Curia, Naples, France and even Vienna.³⁹

Meanwhile, in the country of its origin which in so short a time, as if by a miracle, had seen its rule, its customs, its commercial law and its language spread over the whole Mediterranean basin as far as Asia Minor and Greece⁴⁰ the language had become a symbol not only of national individuality but also of national pride and self-consciousness.⁴¹

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³⁵ I have published a Catalan letter written by Peter to Constance in 1280 in "Conjuraciones," pp. 590 ff., no. 4. A Catalan letter which Infant Alfonso, Peter's oldest son, directed to his parents from Sicily in 1285 is published by Finke, *Spanische Forschungen*, IV (1933), 433, no. 22. Instances of Catalan letters written by Loria are found in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*; see III, 102 ff.

³⁶ See "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona," p. 148, note 34.

³⁷ *Cronica*, chap. XVIII.

³⁸ See Farinelli, "Italia e Spagna," p. 238.

³⁹ See Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, II, pp. LXIX ff.; Finke, *Acta*, I, pp. CLI ff.

⁴⁰ The whole chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, written about 1330, is dedicated to the glorification of this "miracle."

⁴¹ It was at about the end of the century that the name of the people was applied to the idiom—*catalanesch catalanischus*, replacing the older, more general terms *romanz*, *lingua romana*, *nostre lati*, *lemosi*, etc. In the later 14th century terms like *català*, *la llengua catalana*, Lat. *catalanus* were also used. See Morel-Fatio, *Gr. Gr.*, I², 843; Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, II, pp. lxi ff.

FÄCKTEN, FISCHFÄCKTEN, FLOßFÄCKTEN, AND
SIMILAR WORDS

Conrad Gesner's *Historia animalium qui est de piscibus*, published in 1558, was translated into German in 1563 by Conrad Forer.¹ This celebrated work, cited sometimes under Forer, sometimes under Gesner, has frequently been used by German lexicographers, but not exhaustively: a careful study still yields an abundance of interesting material.

In detailed descriptions of dozens of species of fish, the word for *fin* (Latin *pinna*, modern German *Flosse*) would naturally occur very abundantly. Most frequently Forer translates *pinna* by *Fäckten*, *Feckten*:

oben auff dem ruggen namlich die gantze fäckten (fol. 4^b); Oben auff dem kopff hat er ein feckten gleych einem kamm (5^a); schwartze fläcken bey den gälben fäckten der oren, ein andere in der fäckten bey dem arß (15^a); mit roten fläcken besprengt, als dann auch der fäckten von dem arß auff den schwantz (15^b); Die zwen fäckten bey den fischoren (17^b); Bey den oren hat er zwen rot fäckten (19^a); Der fäckten auff dem rugken hat lange, rote spitz (20^b); Die zwo fäckten am bauch (24^a); Auff dem ruggen hat er zwen fäckten. Die erste klein . . . die ander . . . groß (43^b); diser fäckten, so er nidergelegt, wirdt . . . verborgen . . . die so vnden gegen dem schwantz ist goldfarb (ib.); zwey kleine fäckten bey den oren (48^b); Die fäckten auff dem ruggen ist rotlächt (56^a); hat zwen fäckten gleych einer Flädermauß (67^b); die zwen fäckten bey dem schwantz (85^a); mit dreyen fäckten (86^a). die breite von der vnderen fäckten biß zu ende der oberen (ib.).

I have noted no less than 75 instances of *Fäckten*; the noun usually appears as masculine; compare however: *in der fäckten* (15^a); *Die zwo fäckten* (24^a); *die so vnden* (43^b); *zwey kleine fäckten* (48^b); *Die fäckten . . . ist* (56^a), *von der vnderen fäckten*

¹ Weigand used the edition of 1563, as did Kluge; Grimm used an edition of 1598. I have before me the edition of 1575: *Fischbüch, Das ist ein kurtze/doch vollkömne beschreybung aller Fischen . . . Erstlich in Latin durch den hochgeleerten . . . herren D. Cünradt Gäßner beschriben: yetz neüwlich aber durch D. Cünradt Forer . . . in das Teütsch gebracht . . . Getruckt zü Zürych bey Christoffel Froschower . . . M. D. LXXXV.* Six preliminary and CCII numbered leaves, in folio. Kluge's reference (under *Kabeljau*) to the 1563 edition also fits that of 1575; Grimm's reference (under *Wag*, col. 336), to the 1598 edition, also fits that of 1575. It would seem, therefore, that these three editions agree page for page.

(86^a). The *DWb* has no entry for *Fäckten*, but under *Fäcken*, m. *ala*, three instances of *Fäckten* are cited from Forer, the spelling being identical with that of the edition of 1575. Grimm, giving only the definition *ala*, seems to consider these instances as signifying *wings* (i. e. of flying fish) rather than fins.

In addition to *Fäckten*, Forer uses also the diminutives *Fäcktle* (8 instances) and *Fäcktlin* (2 instances), which are not recorded in the *DWb*:

die zwey fäcktle bey den fisch oren sind gälß, die anderen fäckten braun (8^a); Die fecktle bey den oren braun (10^b); item auch die zwey fäcktle bey den oren (13^a); vnder dem vnderen kyffbaggen zwey rote fäcktle (56^a); hat er kleine goldfarbe fäcktle, kurtz aber breit (62^a); die fäcktle bey den oren vnd bauch rotlächt (180^a).

zwen lange zän, welche von zweyen fäcktlinen bedeckt vnd beschlossen werdend (117^a); Hat grüne, fürgestreckte augen, bedeckt sy mit etlichen fäcktlinen (129^a).

The two last instances occur in the description of crabs, not fish. Next in frequency after *Fäckten* comes the compound *Fischfäckten*, with over thirty instances. The word is not recorded in the *DWb*:

vnd die kleinen fäcktle gleych vnder den oren: Seine fisch fäckten alle sampt dem schwantz, mit schönen runden fläcken bezieret (18^a); weniger fläcken hat . . . keine am fischfäckten deß ruggens (43^a); namlich daß jm sein floßfüder oder fischfäckten so breit vnd groß, gleych oben von dem schnabel anhebt vnd sich biß an den schwantz streckt (44^a); sampt zweyen kleinen fischfäckten zû end deß schwantzes (69^a); ergryfft man jn by den zweyen fisch fächten bey dem schwantz (72^a); welches auß seinem rachen vnd grossen fischfäckten mag ersehen werden (81^a); vnden an dem schwantz zweyfachte fäckten, als fisch fäckten die eyer zû beschirmen (126^b); hat scharpffe spitzige fischfäckten auff dem ruggen, vnd vnden am bauch (161^a); auch in der oberen fisch oder floßfäckten auff dem ruggen, welches spitz weyßlecht seyn söllend (ib.).

The diminutives *Fischfecktle* and *Fischfecktlin* also occur:

Hat weyter bey beiden oren ein kleins fischfecktle, vnd eins auff dem ruggen (49^b); der schwantz drey ellen lang, welcher bey anfang ein kleins fischfecktlin sol gehabt haben (67^a).

Neither *Fischfecktle* nor *Fischfecktlin* is recorded in the *DWb*. The next word, *Floßfäckten*, of which seven instances have been noted, is likewise unrecorded; most frequently it designates the dorsal fin:

Sein floßfäcken auff dem rugken ist gantz rot (25^b); mit . . . grossen augen, goldfarb, wyssen floßfäcken (26^b); von den schwartzen grossen floßfäcken so sy habend (29^a); namlich zwüschen dem kopff vnd anfang der oberen floßfecken deß ruggens (41^b); Die floßfäcken auff dem ruggen vnd der schwantz blauwlächt, die andern fäcken rotlächt (170^a); vil schwartzer fläcken, auch an der floßfäcken auff dem ruggen (189^b).

We now turn from compounds of *Fäcken* to consider those of *Feder*. Most frequent is *Floßfeder*, with ten examples. (The *DWb* (III, 1822) cites single instances from Steinhöwel (1487), Luther, and Jean Paul):

sein ruggen ist schwarzlächt, sein floßfäder grün (10^a); der schwantz vnnd hinder floßfäder deß ruggens rotlächt (12^a); die obern floßfäderen dunkelrot, item auch die zwey fäcktle bey den oren (13^a); die floßfäder auff dem rugken heyter rot (15^b); Er schwümpf mit vier floßfäderen: der selben hat er zwo, die grösseren bey den oren, vnd zwo kleiner am bauch (57^a); hat die zwo floßfäderen vff dem ruggen zů nächst an einanderen gestelt (*ib.*); Sein floßfäderen sind so vil vnnd also gesetzt, wie die figur . . . beweyset (57^b); die hinderen fäderen mit dem schwantz sind rotlecht: die ober floßfäder schwartzlecht (167^b).

Also here we have the diminutives *Floßfederlin* and *Floßfäderle*, which are not recorded in the *DWb*:

biß an den schwantz, von gestalt vnd floßfäderlin einem Mackarell gleych (49^a); Dise all habend floßfäderle hinden am leyb (56^b).

Another compound with *Feder* is *Fischfeder*, of which five instances have been noted. Under *Fischfeder* the *DWb* (III, 1685) quotes no examples, but under *Flosse* (col. 1818) one instance of *vloß oder vischfeder* is cited from a glossary of the year 1482:

Seine fischfäderen so von vilen sprossen zůsamen gesetzt, söllend gantz schön seyn (86^b); hat zwo fischfäderen, yede 15. schüch lang (92^a); hat kein fischfäderen auff dem ruggen als der Vterwall (100^b); er hat kleine fischfäderen gägen (*compared with*) seinem cörpel zů rächnen (102^a); so braucht er seine fisch fäderen, vorauß die hinderen an statt der füßen (102^b).

All these last instances occur in the description of various kinds of whales.

Strange to say, a contemporary German work by Heinrich Pantaleon (1522-1595) reveals quite a different terminology from that of Forer, and that despite the fact that Pantaleon, like Forer and Gesner, was a Swiss. The Latin edition of Geronymo Cardano's (1501-1576) *De rerum varietate* had been published at Basel in

1557, and Pantaleon must have begun the German translation almost immediately, as this appeared with the date 1559, also at Basel.² This work of Pantaleon is not mentioned by his biographer Johannes Bolte, in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (xxv, 128-131), and it has also been neglected by German lexicographers, despite the fact that it offers rich material for the study of the German language of the sixteenth century.

Pantaleon's normal rendering of *pinna* is *Gefider*, which occurs at least 56 times, together with one instance of *Fischgefider*:

Doselbsten seind gemeinlich fisch on gefider, doch am geschmack gar süß. das gefider ist ihnen geben, das sie mögend getragen werden . . . darzü haben die aal kein gefider von wegen der runde (p. 56); nennet man dises eigentlich fisch, so fischschoren vnd gefider hand (256); seind . . . den fischen auch das gefider zügeeignet, vnd von nöten gewesen, dann er möcht sich nit bewegen, noch hin vnd har faren, so die gefider nit vorhanden. [On margin: Fischgefider] Deßhalben hatt die natur zweyerley arthen gefider machen sollen, wiewol in dem nammen kein vnderscheid. dann ettlich seind beweglich, als die an seiten vnd vnder dem bauch stond, mit welchen sich die fisch bewegen mögen. etlich seind vnbeweglich, durch welche die fisch ihren weg richten, vnd das wasser sich leichtlichen von einanderen theilet, so an dem rucken stohnd. (264); Ich nenne dises ein gefider, so an einer linien sthet, wiewol deren an der zaal mehr seind (267); Auff dem rucken hatt er ein gebeinen vnnd kröspelechtigs gefider, so kein scharpff spitz hatt (276); Es haben . . . die Gamaren fünff gefider an dem schwantz (292); er hatt auff dem rucken lange vnnd auffgestreckte gefider, wie deß hanen schwantz ist. (299); Er hatt sechs gefider, on dises so an dem schwantz sthet (308); mit dem einigen gefider so er vff dem rucken hatt (313); wann er auch schwimmt, bewegt er sein gefider (314); Er hatt vier gefider, zwo lange vnnd breite an yetwederer seyten, so den schwalmen flüglen nit vngeleich. zwey hatt er am rucken (323).

The *DWb* records *Gefider* only of birds. Of interest is Pantaleon's statement (p. 264) that there are several kinds of fins, without any distinction in the name that is applied to them. On pp. 418 f., furthermore, there are five instances of the word *Gefider* applied to a sort of wing on a waterwheel: "wann aber das rad mit den pinnen oder gefider ein mal vmbfaret," but these do not concern us here.

² *Offenbarung der Natur vnnd Natürlicher dingen auch mancherly subtiler würckungen. Durch den hochgelerten Hieronymum Cardanum/Doctorn der artzney zü Meyland erstlich zü Latin außgangen . . . Alles durch Heinrich Pantaleon der artzney Doctoren/zü gutem Teütscher nation/gantz fleissig vnd auff das treüwlichet verteütschet. . . . Basel 1559. 20 leaves, 934 pp., in folio. Copy in my possession.*

Most interesting for our purposes is the word *Fägden*, *Fegden*, used by Pantaleon to designate the wings of bees, butterflies, ants, and birds:

Es verderbend die sommeruögel alle zû herbst zeytt vor alter, vnnd fallend jhnen die fegden ab (p. 193); so hauwet man dem König die fägden ab, also behaltet man sie wider jhren willen da heimen (195); Wann der König müd worden, wölliches dann bald beschicht, weil sie gewonet da heimen zû beleiben, darzû kleine fägden, vnd ein großen leib habend (196); Wann einer ein hummel so keine fägden hatt hinein stosset, so nagen sie . . . den anderen hummlen allen jhre fägden ab (*ib.*); Wann vnser ameissen alt werdend, überkommend sie fägden, doch fliegend sie nitt fast (199); sechs füß, zwen dünne kurtze fägden, wölche den schwantz nitt bedeckend (202); Sy hatten zwen füß, vnnd kleine fägden, also daß ich glaub sie haben kümmerlich fligen mögen (204); die brust diser vöglen ist gespitzet . . . mit breitten fägden vnd schwantz (240); alle mit flecken vnnd sternleinen gezieret, fast wie der summer vögeleinen fägden (323).

The ten instances of *Fägden* here cited are all in the plural: two in the nominative, one in the dative, and seven in the accusative. The nominative singular could therefore be either *Fägde* or *Fägden*. The *DWb* does not record the word. It is safe to assume that *Fäckten* and *Fägden* are slightly different manifestations of the same word, even though *Fäckten* is used for the fins of fishes, and *Fägden* for the wings of bees, butterflies, ants, and birds. Still another form is *vechten*: "Do streich ein ar vber sie hin vnd sluc sie mit den vechten vnd stunt vor sie vf den wec."³

In an attempt to explain the form *Fäckten*, Grimm (*DWb* III, 1229) thinks first of *Fach*, 'Lappe, Fetze,' then of *Fachete*, 'Tasche,' then of *fackeln*, *feckeln*, 'flattern,' and, as a last possibility, states: "endlich könnte *fäckten* umstellung von *fettich*, *fitlich sein*, Frisius schreibt neben *fäcken* ohne weiteres *fätchen* und Maaler 129^a gar nicht anders: *mit den fätchen schweien, die fätchen erschütten, die fätchen erschwingen, plaudere alis. tch* und *ck* tauschen leicht, unmittelbar nach labialen fällt aber *l* gern aus."

The idea of metathesis is strengthened by the forms *Fägden* and *vechten*, which were not known to Grimm. Further support can be

³ See "Der Veter Buch," p. 62, 16, in *Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 72 (1863). This text, which may be as old as the thirteenth century, is preserved in a MS of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In referring to this passage, Lexer (III, 331, under *vetach*) merely states: "vecht, pl. vechte," without giving the context. The nominative singular might just as well be posited as *vechten*.

found in Graff III, 449, where, under *Fedah*, the forms *fehthacha* and *fehthac* are listed. Both are in the accusative plural and translate *ascellas* of the Vulgate.⁴ Significantly enough, the manuscripts from which Graff cites the spellings *fehthacha* and *fehthac* are at St. Gall: that is to say, as early as the eighth and ninth centuries the metathesis appears in Swiss texts. We can plausibly assume, therefore, that not only *vechten* of *Der Veter Buch* but also the forms *Fäckten* and *Fägden* of sixteenth century texts are derived from *vetach*, *vetich*.

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PYTHONISSA. FAUST II, L. 9135

In the third act of *Faust* II Helena after having been ushered into the courtyard of Faust's castle through the magic contrivance of Phorkyas-Mephistopheles looks in vain for that mysterious figure in whose power she finds herself. "Wo bist du, Pythonissa?" she exclaims (l. 9135). There has been no disagreement as to the meaning of the word, it signifies prophetess or sorceress, but various views have been expressed by commentators as to the source from which Goethe got the word. It is not found in the older German dictionaries and no example of the word in German has ever been cited antedating Goethe with one exception to be taken up later. Sanders gives the word with a reference to this *Faust* passage, so does Kehrein's *Fremdwörterbuch*. Kehrein also gives a reference to Gutzkow's *Der Zauberer von Rom* 1865. Goethe's use of the word in *Faust* introduced it to the German literary public.

According to Witkowski's *Faust* commentary (1936) Bishop Methodios of Olympos (fourth century) was the first to use the Greek word in the title of one of his writings in the sense of the Delphic Sibyl. It passed into Latin and French where 'pythonisse' signifies prophetess, sorceress. "Von dort hat es Goethe übernommen." This would mean that Goethe got it from the French. Trendelenburg (1921) calls it a Latin loan word from the Greek

⁴The passage in question must be *Lev.* 1, 17, as it is only here that *ascella* occurs in the Vulgate in the accusative plural. In *Matth.* 23, 37 the *Itala*, to be sure, has *ascellas*, but the Vulgate has *alas*. Luther translates *Flügel* in both cases.

"von Goethe dem französischen Pythonisse entlehnt." Erich Schmidt (Jubiläumsausgabe) calls the word 'mittellateinisch.' Calvin Thomas (1897) says: "Goethe seems to have got the form by taking the familiar Fr. pythonesse (doubtless a misprint for pythonisse) and treating it as if it were Greek." Schröer (1881) explains Pythonissa as "neulateinische Bezeichnung einer Wahrsagerin für Pythia, so heissen die wahrsagenden Priesterinnen zu Delphi." Loeper (1879) comments: "So heisst die wahrsagende Hexe von Endor im Lat. Pythonissa Endorea... franz. Pythonisse." He quotes Goethe's letter to Bettina of Nov. 3rd, 1809 in which he calls her 'eine holde Pythonisse.' The oldest Faustcommentator Düntzer explains the word in a way that has not been surpassed by any later commentator. *Goethes Faust*, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1857, p. 650: "Das neulateinische, ins Französische und Englische, auch ins MHD. übergegangene Pythonissa bezeichnet eine Wahrsagerin, ein Weib, das einen Wahrsagergeist (Python, vgl. 1. Sam. 28, 7, Apostelgeschichte 16, 16) hat." In his edition of *Faust* in the Deutsche Nationalliteratur he comments: "mittellat. Wahrsagerin, dann geradezu Zauberin. Auch die Hexe von Endor heisst so."

The use of Pythonissa in the sense of prophetess, sorceress in mediaeval and modern times goes back to the Vulgate, 1. Chron. x, 13: "Mortuus est ergo Saul propter iniquitates suas, eo quod praevaricatus sit mandatum Domini quod praeceperat, et non custodierit illud, sed insuper etiam pythonissam consuluerit." In chapter 28 of 1. Samuel, where the story of the witch of Endor is told, the word does not occur. Saul says to his servants (v. 7): "quaerite mihi mulierem habentem pythonem . . . et dixerunt servi ad eum: Est mulier pythonem habens in Endor." The Authorized version renders 1. Chron. x, 13 one that has a familiar spirit and 1. Sam. xxviii, 7 a woman that has a familiar spirit. Luther has "die Wahrsagerin" and "ein Weib, die einen Wahrsagergeist hat." The pre-Lutheran German Bible has "die zoubrerin" and "ein weib die do hab den zouberten geyst." The French Bible in the editions of Martin and Ostervald has as chapter heading of 1. Sam. xxviii "Saül consulte la Pythonisse," verse 7 reads: "une femme qui a un esprit de Python." In 1. Chron. x, 13 the French has: "et qu'il avait consulté l'esprit de Python."

Pythonisse became a current word in French. The Dictionary of the French Academy (8th ed., Paris, 1933) states under Pythonisse: "T. d'Antiquité. La pythie de Delphes et, par exten-

sion, toute femme qui fait métier de prédire l'avenir. La pythonisse d'Endor. Saül consulte la pythonisse. Elle est allée consulter une pythonisse."

The word passed into English in the forms *pythonissa* and *pythoness* (with variants in the older language). The *NED.* gives citations extending from the 14th century to the 19th. Many of them refer to the witch of Endor. The *NED.* also states that the word was often treated as the proper name of the witch of Endor. Bayard Taylor uses *pythoness* in his translation of *Faust*, Miss Swanwick *Pythonissa*.

In German the word never passed into general usage. Only one example has been recorded for MHG. Lexer's *Mhd. Wb.* and Müller-Zarncke register "*phitonissa vaticinatrix*" with a reference to Oberlin 1223. The work referred to is J. G. Scherzii . . . *Glossarium Medii Aevi* which was revised and edited by J. J. Oberlin, Strassburg 1781. *Phitonissa* is given on p. 1223 with a passage from a manuscript *Paraphrasis Poetica Veteris Testamenti* f. 162: "unn fur ze Phitonisse der heidene prophetisse," doubtless a reference to the witch of Endor. The second reference given by Lexer, Diefenbach 237^b, is not Middle High German but mediaeval Latin.

Modern French-German and English-German dictionaries render French *pythonisse* and English *Pythoness* with 'Wahrsagerin, Zauberin,' never with 'Pythonissa.' Cf. among others the French-German dictionaries of Mozin (1856), Sachs-Villatte (1884), the English-German dictionaries of J. Ebers (1796-99, 1800, 1819), Bailey-Fahrenkrüger (1801), J. L. Hilpert (1846), O. F. Grieb (1857 and later), Muret-Sanders (1899).

The word is used in the Latin witchcraft literature down to more recent times. The learned Dutch theologian Gisbert Voëtius in his *Disputationum Selectarum Pars II* (Utrecht 1654, p. 1058) speaks of two classes of people who prophesy or are possessed by the devil: "sunt autem illi duum generum aut qui volentes, ut Pythonici et Pythonissae, aut qui inviti talem diaboli agitationem patiuntur."

According to Johannes Praetorius, the great authority on witchcraft and popular superstitions of the seventeenth century, *Pythonissa* was a well known word in his time. In *Ander Theil der Neuen Weltbeschreibung* (Magdeburg 1667, p. 236) which is the continuation of his *Anthropodemus Plutonicus, Das ist, Eine*

Neue Weltbeschreibung von allerley wunderbaren Menschen (Magdeburg 1666) he says:

Der leufft zur Klugen Frauen, Die werden genennet Pythonissae, haben den Namen von dem Heidnischen Abgotte Apollo, der nachdem er die grausame Schlange Python getödtet, Pythius Apollo genennet wurde: Diesem wurde hernachmahls zu Delphos ein über ausz der Massen herrlicher Tempel erbauet, und weil man in dem selben etwas mehr als bey Hammon, oder Dodon, erfahren konte, als ist es dannenhero kommen, dass man in Gemein alle Kluge Männer, und Kluge Frauen, von denen man heimliche Dinge erforschen und erkündigen konte, Pythones und Pythonissae genennet.

Praetorius' work was well known to Goethe who had made use of it for the *Walpurgisnacht*, as Witkowski¹ has clearly shown. Praetorius' *Blockes Berges Verrichtung* (Leipzig 1696) also furnished Goethe with material for the *Walpurgisnacht*. In this work Praetorius mentions Bernhard Waldschmid's *Pythonissa Endorea oder 28 Hexen- und Gespenst- Predigten* in two places (pp. 99 and 143). Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig 1751) mentions this work under Waldschmid without giving place and date of publication. Waldschmid lived from 1608-1665. It may be assumed that Waldschmid² used Pythonissa also in the German text, not merely in the title.

The word is also found in Zedler's *Grosses Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 23, Leipzig and Halle, 1740. In the article on Necromantie we read: "Dieser Wahrsager-Geist aber wird im Griechischen πνεῦμα Πύθωνος genennet, davon die Personen, die damit besessen waren, Pytonissen, oder Wahrsagerinnen heissen." The plural Pytonissen occurs several times in the article.

Paracelsus uses the word in the title of the second chapter of *Tractatus quartus* of his treatise *De Pestilitate*: "De incantationibus et pythonissis." The German text of the chapter uses only hexe, not pythonissa. Goethe refers to this work in the *Ephemerides* in abbreviated form: "Tr. 4 de Pesti." (Morris, *Der junge Goethe*

¹ Cf. G. Witkowski, *Die Walpurgisnacht im ersten Teile von Goethes Faust*, Leipzig 1894, pp. 23 ff., also A. Bartscherer, *Paracelsus, Paracelsisten und Goethes Faust*. Dortmund 1911, p. 79. Witkowski (p. 26) and Bartscherer (p. 79) also point out the influence of Praetorius' *Blockes Berges Verrichtung* upon the *Walpurgisnacht*.

² The book is not accessible to me. A. Tille in *Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1900, p. 107 f. cites five 'Faustsplitter' from Waldschmid's *Pythonissa Endorea*.

II, 30). Goethe's studies of Paracelsus have been discussed in detail by Agnes Bartscherer in *Paracelsus, Paracelsisten und Goethes Faust*. Dortmund 1912 (cf. p. 94 on the treatise *De Pestilitate*), also in the essay *Magie und Zauberei im ersten Teil von Goethes Faust* in her *Zur Kenntnis des jungen Goethe*, Dortmund 1912.

Paracelsus uses the masculine form in the German text of his *Philosophia de divinis operibus et secretis naturae*: "so die ding nit vihisch werent, und sich die leut hielten im weg des hern, so könnten die phythones und augures coeli die ding nicht anzeigen."³

Goethe did not have to go to the French for his Pythonissa which is the Latin form. He found it in Paracelsus, Praetorius and in the Latin witchcraft literature of the past. As Praetorius and Zedler show, it must have been used in German also, even though only a solitary MHG example has been recorded for the time before Goethe.⁴ Pythonissa meaning prophetess, sorceress is not found in classical Latin. Harper's Latin Dictionary lists it with the single reference to Vulgate, i. Chron. x, 13, which is not classical Latin. Nor is it found in classical Greek in this sense. Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Dictionary gives *Πυθωνισσα* as late Greek in the sense of ventriloquist. But Pythonissa suggests the classical Pythia and python. A mediaeval word with a classical background was a most fitting word to use in the Helena act with its fusion of the Classical and the Mediaeval.

Goethe's use of the form Pythonisse in his letter to Bettina Brentano, to which Loeper refers, may well go back to the French.

³ Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. K. Sudhoff, München and Berlin 1933, xiv, 66 f. The chapter heading from *De Pestilitate* is found xiv, 655.

⁴ After completing the article I came across three other examples of the word in German. Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, Hamburg 1701, p. 157: dass diese Pythonesse, eine *εργασφύμβος* seynde, das ist ab utero vocem emittens. In the English original (London 1681) the passage reads (II 63): That this Pythoness being a Ventriloque, that is speaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly. Petri Goldschmidts *Verworffener Hexen- und Zauberer-Advocat*, Hamburg 1705, p. 272: Der Geist Pythonis ist anders nichts als der wahrsagende Geist. Die Person oder die Wahrsagerinn, welche solchen Geist hatte, ward Pythonissa, oder ein Pytisch Weib . . . genannt. Don Ferdinand Sterzinger, *Geister und Zauberkatechismus*, München 1763, p. 20: Man stelle sich vor dass eben diese Pythonissa oder Wahrsagerin die Gabe gehabt, ohne den Mund zu öffnen, aus dem Bauch zu sprechen.

He writes: "Denn wer liesse sich nicht von einer holden Pythonisse gern in jeden Irrthum führen. Schreibe mir ob dir der Geist nicht sagt was ich meine."⁵

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AN UNPUBLISHED MHG VERSION OF PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN PROVERBS

A recent issue of *PMLA* (LVII, 627-32) contained an edition and discussion of a Latin and two MHG proverb collections of the fifteenth century. The territory, from which these three texts (L, A, B) derive, is Bavaria and the adjacent part of Swabia. In the following lines attention is called to another unpublished version, containing the same sayings in the same order, but originating from the Middle Franconian linguistic territory, situated diagonally opposite, in the Lower Rhine section.

This version is contained in MS. 10 of the library of University College, London, and is mentioned in D. K. Coveney, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Library of University College, London*, 1935, p. 45. As can be seen from an explicit on fol. 46 vb, this MS. was written in 1456. Little can be ascertained respecting the provenance and history of this MS., except that it once had belonged to the Van Ess collection in Marburg, found its way into the Phillippica of Cheltenham (Nr. 624) and was presented to University College in 1911 by Lord Crawford. It is not impossible that together with many other priceless MSS this, too, has recently become a war victim and been turned to ashes in a fire that swept the University library after a heavy bombing. The proverb collection is given on fol. 47 va and vb, where it is found between two theological treatises, the *Quatuor novissima* (1 ra-47 vb) and Isidor (49 ra-56 ra), having been used, like versions A and L, to fill the left-over space. The text is written on paper in two columns with the lines clearly visible. Each leaf measures 27,5 x 20,5 cm., the writing space 19,5 x 14 cm. Twenty letters to the line is the average. Throughout the manuscript the script is of the cursive type, except for the title (*Dit sijnt . . .*) which is in minuscule

⁵ G. von Loeper, *Briefe Goethes an Sophie von Laroche und Bettina Brentano*. Berlin 1879, p. 184.

script. The initial letter 'H' is richly embellished and nearly three lines high. The two down strokes of the letter 'w' reach far above the line and form a loop which resembles the letters 'lb' in cursive writing. Nowhere, not even before rounded letters, does the crooked 'r' appear. The scribe is wont to place two dots over 'u,' without regard to whether it indicates the vowel or fricative sound, except in the case of the diphthongs 'au' and 'eu.' Nor does he distinguish carefully between 'ij' and 'y,' which latter never carries the dots. However, MHG 'i' is generally rendered by 'y,' and MHG 'i' by 'ij.' The nasal bar is used only twice. There is only one correction (*decz* crossed out before */Decz* in the last saying), the nature of which suggests that the scribe has made a copying error. The dialect of this version, as indicated by phonology and orthography, is unquestionably Middle Franconian.

In considering the relation between this version and the South German collections (A and B), a comparison marks it more closely related with A (cgm. 105) than with B, as is apparent from the reading *Bis barmherczich*, which is contained only in A (9a: *pis barmherczig*), but not in B. Only insignificant are the differences in phraseology between A and the Middle Franconian collection (e.g. A: *aller sag* = MFr. *dat man dir sait*; A: *vnwiderpringleichem* = MFr. *des du nyet weder krijgen en kans*). There is only one marked difference in the text. Reading Nr. 4 of A (*vnd pis nit ze schnell in räten* = L *ne sis velox loquendo*) corresponds to *Nyet en bis snel czo der czornichgeit* of the MFr. version, which in view of the immediately following saying *Snijt vnczwey dijenen czorn* (L *iram scinde*) must be regarded as a deterioration of the text. This reading most probably was already present in the *Vorlage*. It is this corruption that warns us not to regard the MFr. version as a copy of A (cgm. 105), but rather as a separate version, descending like A and B, from a common source y.

Text:

Dit fijnt mirckliche leren De Arefotiles fande dem konyneck Allexander

Hæll heymeliche dyngen / Sprich wenich. Bis wairafftich. Nyet en bis snel czo der czornichgeit. Snijdt vnczwey dijenen czorn. Wijgh dem kijue. En anezüich nyemant an fijnem gerüichte. Huede dich van dem wijne. Gedencke czo fterüen. Bis barmherczich. Nyet en verfelle dich mit dem vnbekanten. Nyet en geloüue snel dat man

dir fait. Dynē verfwondē vyant en gijff geyn gelouūe. Van eynem verloren dyngē / des du nyet weder krijgen en kans en wils geyn droiffheit haūen. Nyet en wils dich ervreuwen van vngelucke dijns nyefsten. Nyet en wils dich schelden mit eynem der meichtiger is dan dū. Nummer en wils heymeliche sachen dijne huysfrouwen noch dynen kinderen offenbaren want die wijue ind die kinder verfwijgen / Des fij nyet en wyffen zc.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF DIDEROT'S JOURNEY TO LANGRES IN 1759

Much of the chronology of Diderot's life is still uncertain, making a thorough-going critical biography at present impossible. His own memory for dates and days of the week was notably inaccurate, so that he himself refers humorously to his amiable weakness in this respect.¹ Moreover, many of the letters in his published correspondence are undated, or have been dated vaguely or inaccurately by editors, even though a careful study of the letters themselves may permit the clearing up of not a few uncertainties. A small example in this connection is offered by the details of Diderot's return from his native town of Langres in August of 1759.

Diderot's father had died on Sunday, "jour de la Pentecôte,"² therefore on June 3, 1759, not on the 4th, as has been stated.³ Diderot received the news by the 9th on which date he mentions it in a letter to Grimm.⁴ Since it was already too late to attend the

¹ "Si c'est aujourd'huy jeudi, comme je crois; car je ne sçais jamais bien le jour que je vis." (*Lettres à Sophie Volland*, Paris, 1930, I, 76.) Cf. his inaccurate reference to his date of birth as October 2 (instead of the 5th) and to his age in 1776 as 63, 64, or 65, "que sçais-je" (*Correspondance inédite*, Paris, 1931, I, 171.)

² *Correspondance inédite*, I, 43.

³ By André Babelon, *ibid.*, I, 42, note 2. The error is repeated by Hubert Gautier, *Le Père de Diderot*, Moulins, 1933, p. 8. In 1759, Sunday fell on June 3, not June 4.

⁴ "Mon père est mort. Je ne sçais ni quand ni comment." (*Correspondance inédite*, I, 42.)

funeral, Diderot waited for the completion of preliminary arrangements in the settlement of the estate, and at length left Paris for Langres on Wednesday, July 25, "entre dix et onze, à l'heure du jour la plus chaude et le jour de la saison le plus lourd."⁵ He slept that night at Nogent- [sur-Seine] and, making a long, hard journey the next day, arrived quite exhausted "à la porte de la maison entre minuit et une heure" early on the morning of Friday, the 27th.⁶ This is clear and definite. The details of the return journey, however, are confused.

After first fixing his departure for Monday, August 13, Diderot yielded to the urging of his brother and sister to remain a few more days.⁷ On Tuesday, August 14, the philosopher wrote both to Grimm and to Sophie Volland: "J'ai encore deux nuits à passer ici. Jeudi matin, . . . de grand matin, je quitterai cette maison."⁸ Thus Diderot planned to leave Langres early on Thursday, August 16, and he did actually leave on this date, as we shall see. He had made the trip from Paris in a carriage lent by Mme Volland, the mother of Sophie. "Sachez-vous comment je suis venu? Dans la chaise de la mère," he wrote to Grimm.⁹ On his return, he was therefore to go by way of Mme Volland's estate at Isle and from there accompany her back to Paris.¹⁰

A letter of Diderot to Sophie Volland written in part from Quémont, where he had stopped the first night after leaving Langres, bears the date, in the Assézat and in the Babelon editions,¹¹ of August 17. It is clear, however, from the text that the first half of this letter was written on the first evening out from Langres. If he did leave Langres on the 16th, as he had planned, then the first half of the letter was written from Quémont that same evening and only the last half on the 17th.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 59.

⁶ *Ibid.* "Je partis avant-hier de Paris." The letter is dated: "Langres, ce 27 juillet 1759." In a letter to Mme Diderot, he wrote: "J'ai fait un voyage très pénible. . . . Je suis arrivé ici si changé, si défait qu'Hélène [la domestique] disoit que j'étois venu me faire enterrer à côté de mon père." (*Ibid.*, II, 237.)

⁷ *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 66.

⁸ *Correspondance inédite*, I, 68. Cf. *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 68.

⁹ *Correspondance inédite*, I, 61.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Œuvres complètes* (Assézat ed.), XVIII (Paris, 1876), 378; *Lettres à Sophie Volland* (Babelon ed.), I, 70 (Paris, 1930).

Me voilà à Guémont, c'est de là que je vous écris avec la plume du curé. . . . Demain à Joinville, de bonne heure; à Saint-Dizier, à dîner; de Saint-Dizier à Isle, s'il se peut, dans le même jour, ou samedi dans la matinée, si c'est aujourd'hui jeudi, comme je crois. . . . Il est à peu près dix heures du soir.¹²

The next day Diderot contained in the same letter:

Me voilà hors de ce village appelé Guémont. Je n'y ai pas fermé l'œil. Des bêtes, je ne sçais quelles, m'ont mangé toute la nuit; nous en sommes sortis à six heures, pas plus tôt.¹³

After this miserable night, he says: "Nous avons rafraîchi à un village appelé Lachecourt."¹⁴ If Sophie were only at Isle, he would arrive, he says, that evening, but, since she is not, "je coucherai sûrement à Vitri ou ailleurs. . . . Demain, je serai au lever de madame votre mère."¹⁵ Then suddenly Diderot awakes to a characteristic error. He writes:

J'allois faire une bonne sottise. Je croyois qu'il falloit passer à Vitri au sortir de Saint-Dizier, et point du tout. Je suis à la porte de la maison, dans deux heures d'ici, je parlerai à votre mère.¹⁶

In his next letter to Sophie, Diderot wrote: "Il étoit à peu près six heures lorsque la chaise est entrée dans l'avenue."¹⁷ In a letter to the Caroillon family after his return to Paris, Diderot stated, however, that he arrived "sur les quatre heures,"¹⁸ probably a slight lapse of memory since he had previously written to Sophie the next day after the event that "le soleil étoit tombé,"¹⁹ shortly after his arrival.

Now this letter to Sophie Volland is dated August 23 in the published editions.²⁰ It was written from Isle at the country place of Mme Volland. Diderot remained there, as he wrote to Grimm, "un jour et demi."²¹ In his letter to Sophie, Diderot continues:

¹² *Lettres à Sophie Volland* I, 76.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 77. In Assézat (XVIII, 383), this passage is printed as the beginning of a separate letter and is dated August 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 78-79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 80.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Correspondance inédite*, II, 213.

¹⁹ *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 81.

²⁰ Assézat-Tourneux, XVIII, 386, the latter half (p. 390) being dated August 25; Babelon ed., I, 80.

²¹ *Correspondance inédite*, I, 70.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, JANUARY, 1944

Nous sommes rentrés un peu tard. . . . Nous nous sommes couchés de bonne heure. . . . Demain à Châlons, où M. Le Gendre nous attend, et mercredi, dans la matinée, je l'espère, à Paris.²²

He adds:

Demain, nous irons nous emmuser à Vitry, et passer le reste du jour dans l'habitation de la chère sœur.²³

Thus, on Sunday, the 19th, they were to attend mass at Vitry- [le-François], before going on for the rest of the day and the night to Châlons where lived the son-in-law and the daughter of Mme Volland, M. and Mme Le Gendre.

Thus, if we count the days, it is clear that Diderot did leave Langres early on Thursday, August 16. He stayed that night at Quémont and arrived at Isle late in the afternoon of Friday, the 17th. After "un jour et demi" at Isle, he departed with Mme Volland on Sunday, the 19th, in time for mass at Vitry before going on to Châlons in the afternoon. The letter to Sophie Volland, which until now has been dated the 23rd, was written therefore on Saturday, the 18th, a day after his arrival and the day before his departure.

These conclusions are confirmed by a very definite letter to the Caroillon family written after Diderot's arrival at Paris. This letter has been dated by M. Babelon as of "septembre 1759."²⁴ It was written, however, as will presently appear, on Friday, August 24. In this letter, Diderot gives succinctly the details of his return journey from Langres to Paris:

Nous voilà arrivés dans la grande ville. . . . Nous allâmes le premier jour coucher à Guémont, deux petites lieues au delà de Vignoi [Vignory]. Le second dîner à Saint-Disier, et coucher à Isle où nous arrivâmes sur les quatre heures. C'étoit l'endroit où je devois prendre la personne que je m'étois engagé de ramener à Paris. Nous passâmes dans son château qui est très beau le reste du jour, le jour suivant, et nous n'en partîmes que le dimanche matin que nous allâmes entendre la messe à Vitry, d'où nous gagnâmes Châlons. Nous arrivâmes à Châlons sur les trois heures. . . . Le lundi nous reprîmes notre route, et nos douze lieues faites, nous nous arrêtâmes à Dormans. La journée du mardi fut la plus longue. Il y a quatorze lieues de Dormans à Maux, nous y arrivâmes cependant de bonne heure, parce que nous quittâmes Dormans de grand

²² *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, I, 84-85.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 87.

²⁴ *Correspondance inédite*, II, 213.

matin. De Maux à Paris, il y a dix petites lieues que nous avons faites à notre aise, et nous avons revu la grande ville le mercredi d'assez bonne heure.²⁵

Diderot arrived in Paris, therefore, on Wednesday, August 22.

Since the horses borrowed from the Caroillon family were to rest "jusqu'à lundi,"²⁶ this letter, dated by Diderot "ce vendredi,"²⁷ must have been written on August 24, two days after his arrival, and should be so dated.

Thus, in addition to the clarification of the chronology of Diderot's return from Langres, we are now able to correct the dating of three letters:

To Sophie Volland (Assézat-Tourneux, XVIII, 378, 383; Babelon, I, 70-80), August 16-17, instead of the 17th, as in Babelon, or the 17th and 19th, as in Assézat-Tourneux.

To Sophie Volland (Assézat-Tourneux, XVIII, 386, 390; Babelon, I, 80-89), August 18, instead of the 23rd, as in Babelon, or the 23rd and 25th, as in Assézat-Tourneux.

To the Caroillon family (*Correspondance inédite*, II, 213-215), August 24, 1759, not September.

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VICTOR HUGO ET DELILLE

Le hasard nous a fait lire—eh! oui, pour la première fois—les quatre chants du long poème de Delille, et ses 'notes,' surtout ses 'notes': *La pitié, Poème*; avec figures (Paris, chez Giguet et Michaud, 1805—An xiii; 236 pp. in 12) . . . Et, du fond de notre mémoire est surgie la figure de l'auteur des *Misérables*, mieux de l'auteur de *La pitié suprême*, bien mieux encore de l'auteur des royalistes et catholiques *Odes et Poésies*. En même temps, un vague souvenir d'avoir lu, dans le *Conservateur littéraire* de Victor Hugo et ses amis (1819-1821) quelques pages sur Delille, signées V. Il fallait voir.

Et voici, en effet, la teneur de l'article de Victor Hugo (cf. Éd. de Jules Marsan, "Soc. des Textes mod.", Hachette, 1922, II, I, pp. 18-27) lequel était suivi dans la même 'Livraison (6),' d'un autre,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 213-214.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 214.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 215.

évidemment inspiré par celui de Hugo: "Notice particulière sur l'inhumation de Jacques Delille" pp. 29-32, signé L. D. A. (Lafont d'Aussone): Il s'agit d'un compte-rendu assez détaillé des *Œuvres posthumes* de Delille qui venaient de paraître: En général, dit V., il faut se méfier des *Œuvres posthumes*; on y met des fonds de tiroirs, et, en les publiant, on rend mauvais service à l'auteur qu'on se proposait d'honorer. C'est ici un peu le cas pour Delille; mais c'est une occasion d'évoquer le souvenir d'un écrivain dont le nom mérite de vivre. D'ailleurs, ces deux volumes offrent des passages "où l'on retrouve encore l'imagination du peintre des *Jardins*, l'âme du chantre de *La Pitié*, et toutes les qualités poétiques de l'interprète de Virgile." Et, plus bas, le futur auteur de *La pitié suprême* ajoute: "Delille se fit le père de la poésie descriptive, [mais] nous préférons les vers si touchants de *La pitié* sur les malheurs de la famille royale à toutes les descriptions . . .". Enfin, et ceci est encore particulièrement intéressant sous sa plume, l'auteur des *Odes* choisit pour l'exalter surtout dans ces *Œuvres posthumes*, un passage où Delille, dans un 'Discours sur l'Éducation' (prononcé à Amiens, en 1766) sort de son sujet pour prononcer un superbe éloge du "grand dauphin"; c'était sur la noblesse et la loyauté de celui-ci que toute la France comptait pour réparer les fautes du règne de Louis XV, "le prince chéri et trop tôt enlevé à l'amour de la France . . ." Et Victor Hugo d'ajouter: ce "grand dauphin . . . semblait avoir été inspiré par les mêmes vertus que notre Duc de Berry"; l' 'Ode au Duc de Berry' (13 février, 1820) venait à peine de sortir de presse.

Ces vertus royales vont être, dans les années suivantes, celles que Victor Hugo ne cessera d'exalter dans ses *Odes et poésies*. Et si, sans doute, c'est de Chateaubriand que Hugo s'inspire pour les événements politiques des années de la Restauration, 1820-25 (sur 'La mort du Duc de Berry,' 'Les funérailles de Louis XVIII,' les deux 'Odes sur le Duc de Bordeaux,' et autres épisodes), ce serait chez Delille que l'on pourrait chercher un précurseur quand il s'agit d'épisodes des années d'avant la Restauration, sur le martyre de la famille royale, le roi, la reine, le dauphin, sur Mlle de Sombreuil, les massacres de la Vendée, les vierges de Verdun, sans compter des thèmes impersonnels comme l'horreur pour la Révolution.

Il ne peut y avoir aucun doute, si l'on veut bien se rapporter aux mentions si élogieuses de *La pitié*, et au fait que V. Hugo exprime si nettement sa préférence pour ce poème aux morceaux contenus dans les *Œuvres posthumes*, que l'auteur des *Odes* avait lu avec

beaucoup d'attention *La pitié*. Il est vrai que 'La Vendée' est de 1818, et 'Quiberon' de la fin de 1819, c. à. d. un peu avant la parution de la 6^{me} livraison du *Conservateur littéraire* au début de 1820; mais il est évident que la lecture de *La pitié* avait dû antédater celle des *Œuvres posthumes*. Encore une fois nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur les très abondantes "Notes" de Delille, surtout au Chant III concernant les circonstances historiques des martyrs de la cause royaliste.

Dira-t-on que ces thèmes étaient en quelque sorte du domaine public, et que, tout simplement, Delille et V. Hugo ont puisé à cette même source du martyrologe royal? Peut-être; mais il semble bien, cependant, que Delille, lequel était alors encore une force dans le monde des lettres, ait contribué à fixer en quelque sorte les traits essentiels de la légende, et que V. Hugo, qui alors prenait encore son bien d'ailleurs, ait bénéficié par l'inspiration de son prédécesseur—avant de l'éclipser devant la postérité.

A remarquer que V. Hugo, en 1834, quand il prépara *Histoire et Philosophie mêlées*, abandonna l'article sur Delille, sauf une centaine de mots de la fin, et où il n'est pas question de Delille.

Il doit être bien entendu qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de faire œuvre de "sourcier." Qu'on ne nous prête même pas la sottise idée d'avoir voulu arracher une feuille de la couronne de V. Hugo pour en orner celle de Delille; Hugo n'avait besoin de personne pour lui suggérer l'idée de proclamer les vertus de la pitié comme un baume aux souffrances de la pauvre humanité. Seulement nous serions assez disposé aujourd'hui à réserver à Delille une petite place parmi ceux qui ont contribué à la formation de V. Hugo, surtout du jeune Hugo—aux pieds du trône de Chateaubriand qui demeure naturellement le grand inspirateur des premières années,¹ entre les deux fauteuils de Nodier et de Sainte-Beuve, un tout modeste tabouret.

Nous ne croyons pas que ce fût par un pur hasard que ces deux poètes qui avaient exprimé chacun à sa manière la poésie de leur siècle, aient fini tous deux par chanter d'une façon si insistante cette pitié totale pour la souffrance, celle qui couvre, avec le pécheur par faiblesse ou par ignorance, le méchant qui se révolte délibérément contre l'ordre divin, les Lucifer et les Satan.

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¹ Voir Biré et surtout Ganser, *Beiträge zur Beurtheilung der Verhältnisse V. Hugo's zu Chateaubriand*, Heidelberg, 1900, 120 pp.

TWO OLD ENGLISH TEXTUAL ERRORS

I

ADVERBIA beoð gelimplicor geendebyrde gif hi standað on foreweardan on ðære spræce . . . man mot hi eac bæftan settan butan þam ðe beoð anes stæfgefeges oððe æteowigendlice oððe astigendlice oððe tihtendlice oððe gelicnyse: ðas sceolon æfre standan on foreweardre spræce.

The passage comes from Aelfric's *Grammar* as edited by Julius Zupitza.¹ The spelling *astigendlice* occurs also in Somner's text,² but MS J omits *oððe æteowigendlice oððe astigendlice*, and Zupitza gives the additional variants *ast(i)g- C, astigen[dlic]he W*. Presumably the other MSS read *astigendlice* too, but it is clear that some of the scribes were baffled by the word.

On the basis of this unique occurrence an adjective *astigendlic* was entered³ in the Supplement to Clark Hall's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Third Edition, Cambridge, 1931) with a Modern English equivalent 'intensive.' This meaning in a way satisfies the technical requirements of the passage, since 'intensives,' it is true, are preposed, and Aelfric's illustrative examples lack definiteness. Consider, however, the following statement by Priscian:

De ordine quoque adverbiorum quaeritur, utrum praeponi an supponi verbis aptius possint. et manifestum est quod aptius quidem praeponuntur . . . licet tamen tam haec quam illa praepostere proferre, exceptis monosyllabis quidem omnibus . . . demonstrativa quoque et *interrogativa* praeponuntur verbis . . . similiter hortativa.

If it be the source⁴ which Aelfric, in his own way, was somewhat infelicitously paraphrasing, the Latin counterpart of *astigendlice*

¹ Julius Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin, 1880), p. 241, ll. 9-15. I have removed Zupitza's accents, altered the punctuation a bit, and added the italics.

² William Somner, *Aelfrici . . . Grammatica Latino-Saxonica* (Oxford, 1659), p. 42, ll. 23 ff.

³ Perhaps at the suggestion of Max Förster; see Hall's explanatory note, p. 433. Other dictionaries omit.

⁴ *Prisciani Institutionum Grammaticarum*, Liber xv, 39, ed. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1858), III, 89, 14-23. Again I add italics. A little later in the paragraph Aelfric borrows from Donatus *Ars Minor*, but for our passage he probably used Priscian. Since he carefully restricts monosyllables to the word *O*, there may have been some confusion in Aelfric's mind between letters and syllables.

is plain enough. Elsewhere in the discussion of adverbs he translates *demonstrativa* with *æteowigendlice* (cf. Zupitza's edition, p. 231, l. 5), *hortativa* with *tihtendlice* (*ibid.*, p. 227, l. 16), and more than once offers the explanation, *interrogativa synd axigendlice* (*ibid.*, p. 231, l. 9; compare further, p. 113, l. 16, p. 260, l. 14).

So *astigendlice* must be a scribal blunder for *ascigendlice*,⁵ and a brand-new ghost-word haunts the latest, in many respects the best, of our Old English dictionaries. But the ease of confusion between *c* and *t* will be understood by everybody, and the "common error" hardly proves anything about the kinship of the manuscripts.

II

At Matthew xix 25 the Corpus MS of the West Saxon Gospels reads: *hwa mæg þis gehealdan*. MS H has *þys* and *gehealden*, but neither Skeat nor Bright supplies variants from MSS ABRo.

While the Old English makes sense as 'Who may save this?' it is not much of a translation for the Latin *Quis ergo poterit salvus esse*. We might understand an emendation like *hwa mæg þis gehealden* [beon] in terms of a parallel rendering *swa hwa swa wile gehealden beon*, which the Lambeth Psalter provides for *Quicumque vult salvus esse*.⁶ Something, at any rate is amiss, for *gehealdan* cannot be passive by itself.

The non-West Saxon versions of Matthew help us to surmise what else may have gone wrong, cf. *hwa forðon mæg hal wosa Li*, *hwa þonne mæg hal beon Ru*.¹ Again, in corresponding passages, all the West Saxon MSS read properly together *hwa mæg hal beon*, Luke xviii 26, *hwa mæg beon hal*, Mark x 26. It looks as if the verse in Matthew has been corrupted from a reading akin to these. The form *þis*, conceivably an instrumental 'in this way' (= *ergo*?), would spring from *þus* or from a blurred abbreviation such as *þoñ*, and *gehealdan* from an illegible (*ge*)*hal beon*, in which only a few letters could be made out.

In either event the text is bad, and because they share the error all the West Saxon MSS must belong to the same family, just as

⁵ See Hall under *asciendlic*, *ascian*, Bosworth Toller under *axiendlic*, *axian*. For adjectives in *-endlic*, cf. also L. K. Shook, "A Technical Construction in Old English," *Medieval Studies*, II (1940), 253-57.

⁶ Uno Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth-Psalter* (Helsingfors, 1909), Hymn 15, Verse 1; cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Suppl.*, under *gehealdan*. Other Psalters have *hal wesan* or the like.

Skeat argued. Now we can go a step farther than he did. Since it is hard to believe that the translator would let such a mistake pass, we have reason to suppose that Skeat's "Original MS (now lost)" was indeed a copy, and that at least one intermediary stood between our extant texts and their prototype.⁷

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ENGLISH *SHEER* (OFF)

The *New English Dictionary* defines *sheer* (v.²) as follows:

Sheer, v.², *Naut.* (Perh. a use of *shear* v.; but the development in sense is obscure.)

1. *intr.* Of a ship: To turn aside, alter its direction, swerve to either side of its course, in obedience to the helm. Chiefly with advs. as *off*, *out*, *away*.

b) To swerve to either side irregularly or unsteadily, not in obedience to the helm. Also with *around*.

c) *transf.* and *fig.* Chiefly with *off*: To change one's course, to depart, to go away; to go off in a new direction or on another 'tack.'

2. *trans.* To cause (a vessel) to *sheer*; to direct (a vessel) obliquely towards a given point.

The *NED.* points out that lexicographers have too readily identified our word with a homonym *shear* whose sense is 'to cut, divide, pierce, cleave, carve' and whose etymon is a Teutonic *scheren* (Middle Eng. *sheren*, *scheren*). "The correspondance between the senses (of *sheer*) and the Germanic and Dutch senses (of *scheren*) is not sufficiently exact to warrant the assumption that the course of development has been parallel" (*NED.*)¹

We are justified, it seems, in seeking a different source for the word. This source readily presents itself. Latin possessed a verb *exerrare* (v. n.) 'to wander away, to deviate, to err.' Lineal descendants of *L. exerrare* are limited in the Romance territory to

⁷ See the stemma, p. x, and the attendant remarks in the Preface to Skeat's edition of Saint Luke.

¹ Ernest Weekley (*Eng. Etym. Dict.*, 1921) furnishes a good example of vague and inconsequential argument. He says of *sheer*: "Verb, accidental spelling of *shear* 'to divide,' used to indicate a slanting course."

France.² Godefroy³ cites a series of Old French texts containing *esserrer* (L. *exerrare*) and variant forms, all from eastern France (Wallonie, Lorraine, Franche-Comté). Its sense is: intr.: *errer*, *s'égarer*, *s'écarter*; trans.: *mener hors de la voie*. It has maintained itself in present day patois of the east. The *FEW*. (*exerrare*) lists these patois forms which have preserved meanings close to the etymological one, such as '*dévier, se tromper, égarer, s'égarer, dévoyer, désorienter, perdre le Nord, surtout dans les bois, dans les neiges.*'⁴

But L. *exerrare* is also represented in O. Prov. *eissarrar*, *icharrar*. Only past participial forms are found in the texts, and Levy (*Prov. Suppl. Wörterbuch*, II, 329) interprets them as 'in Bedrängnis, in Verlegenheit, unschlüssig.' One of the passages is interesting, for the word in it is associated with things nautical, a usage which has been considered to be the fundamental one of English *sheer*. We give here the second stanza of a poem of Sordello which contains it.⁵

- 17 E pos guida 'l ferm' estela lusens
las naus que van perilhan per la mar,
ben degra mi cilh qui'l sembla, guidar;
qu'en la mar sui per leis profundamens
- 21 tan *eyssaratz*, destreitz et esbaitz,
que i serai mortz, anz que'n hiesca, e peritz,
si no'm secor, qu'ieu non trueb a l'yssida
riba ni port, gua ni pont ni guerida.

In the text *eyssaratz* (v. 21) seems to have been suggested by the nautical figure of a ship off its course just as its variant in another manuscript *esvaratz* 'tossed about' was. It may then be a nautical term with the literal meaning of the word.

The earliest instance of *sheer* (v.²) cited by the *NED*. is of 1626 and the word, in the several seventeenth century texts cited, does apply to ships. After 1704 we have examples of the more general sense, called by the *NED*. "*transf. and fig.*," but one nevertheless always close to that of L. *exerrare* and its French descendents.

² Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Etym. Wörterb.* 3005.

³ F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français*, III, 570c.

⁴ W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, III, 292. Cf. also *Romania*, xxxiii, 22; A. Thomas, *Nouveaux essais de philologie française*, 255 f., who explains the Provençal forms.

⁵ Cf. C. De Lollis, *Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito*, 1896, p. 177; C. Appel, *Provençalische Chrestomathie* (3rd ed.), p. 72.

The *English Dialect Dictionary* of Wright reports *sheer* (variants *shear*, *shere*, *share*) as being in general dialectal and colloquial use in Scotland and England. It gives examples ranging from the North Country and Yorkshire to London and Cornwall and defines it as: 1) *v.* with *off*: to depart, to move off, swerve, turn aside; 2) *sb.* a swerve, a lurch. Not one of the cases listed from the various regions refers to ships.⁶

In spite of the fact that the earliest examples of *sheer* recorded refer to ships, it is reasonable to suppose that this technical, nautical sense grew out of the general meaning of the L. verb, which was continued in Old French, which exists today in the French patois, which is observed in English texts after 1704, and is the only one noted by Wright in modern English dialects. The restriction to technical application of a word of earlier general meaning is a very common phenomenon of semantics and this has been especially true of terms of law, agriculture, the army and the navy.⁷

Sheer must have come into Anglo-French from some region in eastern France since L. *exerrare* seems to have had descendents only there, to judge by the evidence of medieval texts and the modern patois. Such medieval variants of *esserrer* as *exerrer*, *esxerrer*, *exserrer*, *axerrer*, in which *x* = *š*, indicate a palatalization of the sibilant of the prefix, characteristic of eastern dialects.⁸ The popular pronunciation of the form imported into Anglo-French may then have already had the palatal *š*. The aphesis of initial *e* in Middle English, whether in the case of the prefix *es* (*ex*) or the prosthetic *e*, before consonants and consonant groups, is a common phenomenon. The development of *ě* > *ē* (*ēē*) is normal. It may be,

⁶ Here are a few characteristic examples: He *sheer'd* off t'rooad; Ee *shaired* off ti toddher seid of street; I did not like his looks a bit and *sheered* off.

⁷ Cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, IV, § 123, § 226. With reference to French he says: Le langage technique des marins se sert des mots appartenant à la langue commune. He gives a number of examples. A curious case is *flotte* which meant first in a general sense "une réunion de personnes ou d'objets de même nature." Since the sixteenth century it has come to mean almost exclusively "une réunion de navires." English *warp* originally meant 'throw.' It has acquired several technical meanings including that of the manoeuvring of a ship in port.

⁸ Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, I, p. 149; II, p. 101.

however, that the palatalization of the sibilant took place in England: cf. *ashlar*, ME. *ascheler*, OF. *aisselier* (L. *axilla*, *axis*); *issue* from a past part. of OF. *eissir*, *issir* (*eissue*, XII century, Marie de France); *sewer* (L. *ex* + *aqua*) which as late as the XVIII c. had a variant pronunciation with *š*.

It is entirely natural that *sheer* should come to be used habitually with adverbs *off*, *out*, *away*, since the portion of the word representing *ex* had been reduced to *š* which no longer suggested the etymological sense of *off*, *out*, *away*.

In *sheer* (v.²) 'to turn away, etc.' (L. *exerrare*) and in *shear* (v.) 'to cut, etc.' (Teut. *scheren*) we have one more example of homonymic pairs of words of different origin, of which there are said to be more than 700 in English. The penetration of *exerrare* into England has not before been pointed out.

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CHAUCER'S KNIGHT AND THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Roger S. Loomis in an article entitled "Was Chaucer a Laodicean?" remarks that "the ideal knight as depicted by Chaucer had devoted his military career, incidentally perhaps to 'his lordes werre,' wherever that may have been, but mainly and specifically to fighting for our faith against the heathen on all fronts."¹ This emphasis, Professor Loomis would have us believe, was a deliberate protest against the Hundred Years' War and indicates Chaucer's pacifism where all but holy wars were concerned.

This emphasis may have been deliberate—but probably for artistic reasons rather than for reasons of doctrine. Following the portrait of the Knight is that of the Squire who had fought

In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie,

provinces of "cristendom" in which, we must assume, the Knight also fought, since the Squire served him.² It would have been

¹ *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 136-37.

² As carver at the very least. Probably as shield- and armor-bearer, too, since he was the Knight's only attendant.

awkward to insert these placenames in both portraits, particularly since Chaucer evidently wanted us to think of the Knight and the Squire in their medieval relationship of warrior and attendant. Apparently Chaucer did what an accomplished poet might be expected to do; he indicated that the Knight had seen action

As wel in cristendom as in hethenesse,

enumerating the heathen battles at once and reserving the expeditions against the French until describing his squire. Thus he avoided repetition and made a clever and artistic link between the two portraits. It is hard, therefore, to see that the description of the Knight, connected as it is so closely to that of the Squire, indicates a doctrine that "coincides with the doctrine of Wyclif on the subject of war."³

Professor Loomis' argument can also be attacked on another ground—that of logical inconsistency. His premise would seem to be that when Chaucer's idealism does not correspond with fourteenth century reality, we may take the poet to be criticizing some aspect of the period. Thus, since the ideal Knight has supposedly fought chiefly in holy wars, the national war with the French—the greatest military reality of the day—receives Chaucer's disapprobation. But Professor Loomis does not use his major premise when he comes to the Plowman's portrait. This portrait has an important bearing upon the rebellious peasant, but, says Professor Loomis, "Chaucer's references to . . . the Peasants' Revolt are purely casual, and indicate no attitude whatsoever."⁴ Incidentally, he does not comment upon the contemptuous reference in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* to "Jakke Straw and his meynee" (*CT*, B² 4584), or to the fact that in the *Knight's Tale* the Peasants' Revolt is associated with the evil results of Saturn's influence:

The murmure and the cherles rebellyng.

The groynynge, and the pryvee empoysonyng. (*CT*, A2459-60)

He prefers to think that Chaucer is silent in regard to the rebellion of 1381, and that this "silence" was due to his recognizing, "as a humanitarian and a just man," that "where there was much wrong on both sides, there was no obligation to offer his career as a vain sacrifice to the cause of the oppressed."⁵ And about the

³ Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Plowman specifically Professor Loomis has this to say: "... surely it is little short of amazing that, writing the General Prolog within six years of the Peasants' Revolt, this poet of the court should sketch for us a representative peasant, the Plowman, not as a loafer, a scamp, a bolshevik, a sower of class hatred, but as a model of all the social and Christian virtues."⁶ Why does Professor Loomis not argue that since the typical (i. e., the real) peasant contemporary with Chaucer was in contemporary eyes lacking in the social and Christian virtues, therefore "The poet's evident affection for the ideal peasant suggests an antagonism toward the actual peasant?"⁷

Professor Loomis does well to turn to the *Melibee* as an indication of the mature Chaucer's disapproval of the Hundred Years' War,⁸ but his comment upon the Knight (that Chaucer disapproved of all but holy war) breaks down when we consider Knight and Squire together, and the premise (that Chaucer's idealism is critical of conditions when the reality is far different from the idealism) might better have been applied to the Plowman.

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WAS ROBYN THE MILLER'S YOUTH MISSPENT?

Two narrations among the *Canterbury Tales* are presented as actual events in which the teller played an actual part, the Prologue of the Wyf of Bath and the first part of the Tale of the Canon's Yeoman.¹ In the Prologue to yet a third tale the Miller declares:

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Gardiner Stillwell, "Chaucer's Plowman and the Contemporary English Peasant," *ELH*, vi (No. 4, December, 1939), 285-90. This paper develops the statement here quoted from it.

⁸ Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

¹ The Cook promises a true story, though it never becomes apparent whether he is to play a part; see lines 4340-43; this and all subsequent

For I wol telle a legende and a lyf
 Bothe of a carpenter and of his wyf,
 How that a clerk hath set the wrightes cappe,²

and from these words Osewold the Reeve seems to grasp the very nature of the yet untold story, for he cries out:

It is a synne and eek a greet folye
 To apeyren any man, or hym defame,
 And eek to bryngen wyves in swich fame.³

Why should Osewold be so knowing, and why can the Miller retort:

I have a wyf, pardee, as wel as thou,⁴

unless these two be old acquaintances, and unless the Reeve realize that Robyn and Miller knows what happened in Osewold's—that is, John the carpenter's⁵—house one dark night some time before? And if the Miller were telling of an actual happening, how could he have known the intimate details so well? Could he, like Alice of Bath and like the Canon's Yeoman, have played a part in the stirring events of his own story?

There is one figure in the Miller's Tale who might be identified with the teller himself: Robyn, the knave of John the Carpenter. The Miller, to be sure, is addressed as Robyn only once; but he was thus named, significantly enough, in his own Prologue, when Harry Bailey tried to postpone his tale

And seyde, "Abyd, Robyn, my leewe brother;
 Som bettre man shal telle us first another."⁶

If Robyn the Miller had spent part of his youth in the employ of the carpenter, he could have had inside information regarding the events in question. To be sure, Robyn the knave and Gille the mayde were dispatched to London before that fatal night;⁷ but

references are to *Canterbury Tales* I (A), in F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, etc., 1933).

² 3141-43.

³ 3146-48

⁴ 3158.

⁵ This change of name, one must presume, is matched by a change of locale, unless we are to believe that Osewold, though now of Northfolk (see line 619), had previously lived in Oxenford.

⁶ 3129-30.

⁷ 3555-58, 3630-32.

WAS ROBYN THE MILLER'S YOUTH MISSPENT? 49

this deprivation, we may assume, served only to spur on Robyn's subsequent assembling of eye-witness accounts not only from the protagonists but also from Gerveys the smyth and the neighebores, bothe smale and grete.

The name of the carpenter's servant is not the only feature which tends to support this identification. In the General Prologue we are told that

The Millere was a stout carl for the nones,⁸

and in the Miller's Tale we learn (in reference to the carpenter) that

His knave was a strong carl for the nones.⁹

Furthermore, we are told of the Miller that

Ther was no dore that he nolde heve of harre; ¹⁰

whereas in the Miller's Tale, when hendy Nicholas has locked himself in his room, the carpenter says:

Get me a staf, that I may underspore,
Whil that thou, Robyn, hevest up the dore.

No sooner said than done:

His knave was a strong carl for the nones,
And by the haspe he haaf it of atones;
Into the floor the dore fil anon.¹¹

Those of Chaucer's contemporaries for whom the portraits, links, and tales proved especially vivid may have been led to believe that Robyn the Miller was none other than Robyn the knave of his own Tale, and that yet again a narrator was portrayed as recounting events in which he had played an actual part. If Chaucer intended such an interpretation, a further reason for the strange and splendid ire of the Reeve is added to the pitiful excuse that he was a carpenter.¹²

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⁸ 545.

⁹ 3469.

¹⁰ 550.

¹¹ 3465-66, 3469-71.

¹² 3859-63, 3913-15.

CLICHÉS AND THEIR SOURCES

Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Clichés*¹ contains much interesting and useful material, but in his "Introductory Essay" Partridge runs into the common difficulty of defining a cliché. When a cliché is defined as "a stereotyped expression, a commonplace phrase" (*NED*) it becomes difficult to determine when a useful idiomatic expression becomes a cliché and should be avoided. Many of the phrases which Partridge lists as clichés seem rather to be useful idioms, far from outworn; and he omits many expressions which are definitely hackneyed and overworked and which ought to be classed as clichés. Partridge adds a few American clichés; many more should be added.

In many cases, often using Benham's *Book of Quotations*² or the *NED*, Partridge endeavors to give the first or an early instance of the occurrence of the cliché, before giving the approximate date of the period during which that expression has been a cliché. He remarks ("Introductory Essay," p. 8): "The English quotation clichés are numerous. Many from the Bible have become so encrusted in the language that we remember they are Biblical only because of the archaic phraseology." Partridge himself omits or is unaware of the Biblical sources of many of the clichés in his *Dictionary* and seems to have missed the probable sources of a number of others. I have noted the following (P = Partridge, B = Benham, S = Stevenson):³

P. 18, (as) *man to man*: P. gives as date "late c. 19-20." But cf. Burns: "That man to man the world o'er/ shall brithers be for a' that."

P. 19, *as ye sow, so also shall ye reap*: P's allusion to a phrase of Cicero and to "By their fruits ye shall know them" (*Matthew* 7, 16) ignores *Galatians* 6, 7 which is very much closer.

P. 25, *believe it or not*: P. mentions a theatrical entertainment of this title in England, 1939-40. George Ripley's syndicated feature under this title in many American newspapers is much older.

P. 26, *belted earl*: P. dates this "mid c. 19-20." But cf. Burns' "belted knight" in "A Man's a Man for A' That."

¹ Partridge, *A Dictionary of Clichés* (London, 1940; second edition, revised, 1941).

² Benham, *A Book of Quotations* (revised edition, London, 1936).

³ Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotations* (New York, 1937).

P. 30, *blow hot and cold*: P. mentions a passage in Plautus. B(884a) compares "soon hot, soon cold." Much more probably Biblical (*Revelation* 3, 15-16).

P. 32, *bounden duty*: from the "Communion Service" of the English *Book of Common Prayer*.

P. 33, *brave and fair*: P. refers this to "the quotation cliché 'fair women and brave men.'" But Dryden's "None but the brave deserve the fair" from "Alexander's Feast" was well known before this.

P. 34, *broken reed*: perhaps *Isaiah* 42, 3; *Matthew* 12, 20; *Ezek.* 29, 6, 7.

P. 37, *go about one's business*: perhaps *Luke* 2, 49.

P. 73, *experto crede*: P. says "from the *experto crede* of Antonius de Avena and Robert Burton" (B574a); but the original is more likely Vergil's *experto credite* (*Aeneid* XI, 283) which is referred to in B.

P. 82, *fons et origo*: P. and B. refer this to the "proverbial *fons et origo mali*." Cf. Florus I, 41, sentence 12: *fons et origo*.

P. 92, *God and Mammon*: *Matthew* 6, 24; *Luke* 16, 13.

P. 111, *I would not touch it with a barge-pole*: Cf. the American "I would not touch it with a ten-foot pole."

P. 141, *man and a brother*: P. says "Perhaps cf. Campbell's 'Ye are brothers! Ye are men!' in 'The Battle of the Baltic,' 1801." But also cf. Burns; see above on (as) *man to man*.

P. 154, *noise abroad*: *Luke* 1, 65; *Acts* 2, 6.

P. 160, *on his own head be it*: Cf. *I Kings* 2, 37; 2, 44; *Joshua* 2, 19; *Joel* 3, 4; 3, 7; *Ezekiel* 33, 4; *Psalms* 7, 16; *Acts* 18, 6.

P. 168, *peace in our time*: from "Morning Prayer" in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

P. 175, *principalities and powers*: P. says "from *Titus* 3, 1." But *Ephesians* 3, 10; 6, 12 and *Romans* 8, 38 are better known.

P. 177, *pursuit of happiness*: Jefferson in the *Declaration of Independence*, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

P. 180, *quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat*: S. gives the source as "a fragment of Euripides" but notes that it is preserved in Plutarch as a fragment of Aeschylus. He compares Lycurgus, *In Leocratem* 21, 92 and Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 479 and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 621 (S1231, 25).

P. 202, *sin against the light*: Cf. "rebel against the light" (*Job* 24, 13).

P. 204, *smell of the lamp*: S. refers to Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 8. Latin, *lucernam olet*. See S, s. v. "lamp" (1923, 14).

P. 213, *steal someone's thunder*: P. and B. refer to John Dennis and an anecdote of the London stage; but originally Latin and referred to "stealing Jove's thunder"; cf. Manilius I, 103: "solvitque animis miracula rerum; / Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonanti." ("He hath seized from thundering Jove his thunderbolt and strength"). See B, 471b.

P. 214, *stink in the nostrils of*: Biblical; cf. *Amos* 4, 10.

P. 242, *utter darkness*: cf. "outer darkness," *Matthew* 8, 12; 22, 13; 25, 30.

P. 244, *very present help in trouble*: P. says "The short, the correct form

comes from *The Book of Common Prayer*." But originally from *Psalms* 46, 1.

P. 259, *snare and delusion*: *Romans* 11, 9 is fairly close. *NED* gives Denman, 1844 (incorrectly given as "1894" in S, 1081, 13).

P. 259, *tender mercies*: Cf. *Psalms* 25, 6; 40, 11; 51, 1; 69, 16; 77, 9 etc.

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MELVILLE'S FRIEND "TOBY"

Most of what little we know about Melville's shipmate and fellow captive in the Marquesas Islands, Richard T. Greene, is given us by the novelist himself in *Typee* and its sequel or by Professor Raymond Weaver in his pioneer biography of the author. A few bits of information dealing with "Toby's" period of residence in Sandusky, Ohio, during the middle fifties have come to my attention, and I propose in the present article to present the most interesting of these. The source of this new material is a fairly complete run of the *Sandusky Mirror* from August, 1854 to January 31, 1855, which was unearthed by Miss Naomi Lisle, of Fremont, Ohio, and which I was permitted to examine through the courtesy of Miss Dorothy Keefe, librarian of the Carnegie Library in Sandusky.

Just when Greene arrived in the Bay City is not clear, but the *Mirror* for November 6, 1854, contains a poem by him which indicates that he had lately returned to Sandusky after an extended sojourn elsewhere.¹ The next day the paper carried an announcement signed by him which stated that on that day he assumed the position of local editor, "fully sensible of our deficiency in literature and unworthiness in many respects." Thereafter he seems to have conducted a regular column in the journal—but for how long one cannot say. Presumably he left Sandusky after a period of residence of unidentified length and eventually lived in Chicago, where he died of apoplexy on August 23, 1892.²

¹ The *Sandusky Register* for Jan. 14, 1854, observes that "our friend 'Toby' has once again taken up a position as telegraph operator—in Lexington, Kentucky," and the issue for Jan. 18 carries a letter from Greene to the *Register* written in Lexington.

² Both the *Tribune* and *Herald* (Chicago) published notices of his death

One gathers the general impression from "Toby's" column that he was more of a literary fellow than one would expect an ex-sailor, ex-telegraph operator, or even a small-town editor to be. Like Jack Chase, then, Greene had undoubtedly endeared himself to Melville through his literary propensities. So far as his religious opinions are concerned, all that the partial file of the *Mirror* reveals is that he was "not a member of any religious body," although he encouraged the founding of a branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Sandusky.³

The expectation that the novice local-editor with a column to fill regularly would indulge occasionally in autobiographical reminiscence is amply gratified by the facts. For example, in the issue for January 2, 1855, he editorialized on the Galapagos Islands as a desirable acquisition to further the activities of the whaling fleet and mentioned his visit there in 1841. Again, he remarked: "Nantucket, that island of blubber, oil and spermaceti, has recently been lighted with gas; a bad example, surely, for whalers to set"; and in another issue he recalled:

We had a shipmate once, whom we named "Jack Nastyface," from the fact that his face was as rough as a MacAdemized [sic] road. The first time that we crossed the equator in the Pacific, "Jack" was at the mast head looking out for whales. As soon as "eight bells" were struck, and "Jack" was relieved, he was informed that we had crossed the line. "Jack" never would be behind anybody in intelligence. "The devil we did!" says "Jack." "Can't ye tell us some news? didn't I see it as well as you did, and better too? wasn't I aloft? I saw the line before any man aboard."⁴

It is clear, too, that "Toby" lectured in Sandusky and elsewhere on his adventures in the South Seas, but thus far no full report of his lecture has been discovered.⁵

in their issues for August 25. He was apparently survived by his wife, Mary J. Greene, and a son Herman M.

³ Issue for Jan. 18, 1855.

⁴ Jan. 13, 1855. The sentence dealing with Nantucket appears in the number for Dec. 22, 1854.

⁵ The Sandusky *Register*, in its issue for Feb. 12, 1855, announced his lecture topic as "Typee; or Life in the South Pacific." On Feb. 16, 1855, he lectured at Fremont; on Feb. 17 at Toledo. The *Register* for March 9, 1855, carried the following:

"Toby" is now gone East on a lecturing tour. He gave the people

It is apparent that Greene was very proud of his association with Melville, for he spoke of himself as "Toby of Typee,"⁶ and in his column for December 7, 1854, he referred to Melville. The entire passage is here reprinted.

The following, which we clip from the *Ohio State Journal*, calls to mind scenes long past, and almost forgotten. We were Herman Melville's companion in his adventure on the Marquesas, and well do we remember the effect, the magnificent scenery of Nukahiva had upon our young mind.

If Melville in his "Typee" romanced, he is to be pardoned; for when we entered that bay, and saw its almost unearthly beauties break, as if by magic, on our bewildered eyes—the smooth surface of that lovely sheet of water, undisturbed save by some tiny canoe, as it shot forth from a fairy cavern, half concealed by the luxuriant foliage which hung in graceful festoons from the rocks above, we too were seized with the romantic.⁷

In "Toby's" column for December 25, 1854, there appears a letter which may also have a Melville connection. Toby writes:

The following letter, which we received from an old friend in New York, will call to mind a whimsical production of ours, which was published in the *Mirror* some time since. We often see our lucubrations in sheets of greater pretensions than our own, and not always accompanied with the usual credit:

New York, Dec. 20.

Dear Toby:—Have you seen *Graham* for January, yet? Of course you have; and I presume you have already graced your columns with the usual "splendid number"—"finest yet"—and all those other stereotyped phrases which lie in galleys ready for use on such occasions. But, perhaps, you are ready to inquire—what of all this? Why not ask if I have seen Godey, or Peterson, or Putnam, or any of the others? Well, I will tell you why. About the 1st of this present month I read in the *Sandusky*

of Elyria his "Typee" on Tuesday evening. The *Lorain Argus* thus speaks of it:

The lecture, last evening, by R. T. Greene, Esq., was one of deep and thrilling interest. Mr. Greene is an easy speaker, and has evidently traveled to some purpose—his lecture evinces that he has improved the opportunities for observation, which his travels have placed in his way. We regret that he was not favored with a larger audience, as we are confident that an opportunity to listen to a more interesting lecture is rarely enjoyed by our citizens.

⁶ *Mirror* for Dec. 19, 1854.

⁷ There follow two paragraphs from a letter by an officer of the British Pacific squadron (quoted from the *Ohio State Journal*, Dec. 2, 1854) describing Nukahiva Bay and concluding: "Melville's [*sic*] *Typee* gives a most interesting account of these Islands, although rather romanced."

Morning Mirror, of which you are one of the responsible editors, an article from your pen, entitled "Jeremiah's Dream, or the Effects of a Thanksgiving Dinner—being a warning to gormands"; and now almost at the close of the month, I find in *Graham* for January, "Mrs. Boodle's Christmas Supper, and what came of it—or, the Dream of White Kidde"; written by Von somebody and illustrated by somebody else. Now, put the two articles side by side, and anybody with half an eye, and the smallest quantum of common sense, will be at no loss to determine where Vonkomm caught his theme, or Wunovem the ideas for his illustrations. They are Jeremiah's Dream with all its phantasies; [a long passage of quotation follows.]

From these parallels, who can doubt the source from whence Von Wynkomm drew his inspiration. When in his preface he tells us of the song that Lockhart sang, of the trials of Midshipman Easy—of the tale of Geneva by Rogers—and the other celebrities of the literati, why has he not the manliness to tell that the dream of the "elegant Eglantine Arthur White Kydde" had been all dreamed ready to his hand, a month before, by Jeremiah the Meek? Come, come, Mr. Kidde, when you sing

"My brain was on fire, and I leaped on the floor,
The old hall clock struck, and my Night Mare was o'er!"

you must have been thinking of the finale to Jeremiah's Dream—of whom it is said.

"A terrible blow with a maul on the head,
Knocked Jeremiah clean out of bed.
In attempting to solve the horrid scheme,
He awoke, and behold! 'twas all a dream."

YOUR OLD SHIPMATE *

No one can say definitely that Melville wrote the letter above, but it is possible that he did so.⁹

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*No copy of the *Mirror* containing Greene's poem has been discovered. The contribution to *Graham's Magazine* appears in the number for Jan., 1855 (XLVI, 105-109), "'Mrs. Boodle's Christmas Supper and What Came of It or the Dream of White Kidde,' written by Walter Von Wynkomm, illustrated by William Wunovem."

The reference to Lockhart is to *The Song of the Cid*. In *Graham's* (p. 105) the "Geneva" is explained by the lines:

"Old Rogers has sung of that famous oak lid,
'Neath which poor Genevra so snugly was hid."

⁹I am grateful for information concerning various matters connected with my study of "Toby" to Professor Raymond Weaver, Professor Charles R. Anderson, Mr. John Birss, and the late Robert S. Forsythe.

THE PUBLICATION OF MELVILLE'S *PIAZZA TALES*

From the incomplete correspondence between Herman Melville and the New York publishing firm Dix & Edwards, a portion of the bibliographical history of Melville's *Piazza Tales* (1856) may now be reconstructed. Negotiations for the appearance of the volume were evidently well under way at the time the following letter, hitherto unpublished, was written:

Pittsfield Feb. 16. 1856

Gentlemen:—

The new title selected for the proposed volume is "*The Piazza Tales*" and the accompanying piece ("*The Piazza*") as giving that name to the book, is intended to come first in order. I think, with you, that "*Bartleby*" had best come next. So that, as amended, the order will be

The Piazza
Bartleby
Benito Cereno
Lightning-Rod Man
Encantadas
Bell Tower.

In the corrected magazine sheets I sent you, a M. S. note is *appended to the title* of 'Benito Cereno'; but as the book is now to be published as a collection of '*Tales*', that note is unsuitable & had better be omitted.

I should like to have a proof sent to me of '*The Piazza*'. Please send by *mail*. The blank agreements I have not received.

It was understood that the copyright was to stand in my name. You can take it out, & charge the cost to me.

With much respect

Truly Yours

H Melville

Dix & Edwards

Publishers

N. Y.¹

As indicated by the letter, Melville had already supplied Dix & Edwards with copy for five of the six sketches in the volume. This was in the form of corrected sheets from *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, in which the sketches had appeared between November, 1853, and December, 1855. The new title-piece, however, was written especially for the volume, probably just before the above letter was composed; the manuscript note to which he refers suggests

¹ Italics Melville's. This letter is now in the Yale Collection of American Literature, Yale University.

that he had at first intended reprinting the magazine sketches as "*Benito Cereno* and Other Pieces," or with some similar title.

The proof and the publishing agreement which Melville requested were forwarded in due course. The agreement, signed on March 17,² provided that the author should furnish copy by February 20, as he had already done, and that he should receive a royalty of twelve and one-half per cent per copy after expenses of the volume were paid. Melville returned the contract on March 24.³

No date for publication had been set in the agreement, but advertisements subsequently printed by Dix & Edwards announced the volume as "in press" by April 5,⁴ and later as scheduled to appear on May 15.⁵ It was May 20, however, before a copy was deposited for copyright, registered, as Melville had requested, in the name of the author.⁶ The book was apparently not released to the public until the week of May 24-31.⁷

²A copy of the agreement, signed by Melville and by Dix & Edwards, with Walter Low and Mrs. Melville as witnesses, is now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library. (Material in this collection cited here is used with permission of the Committee on Higher Degrees in the History of American Civilization, Harvard University.) The date March 17 appears in the body of the agreement, but a notation on the reverse side reads March 7. The latter date is mentioned by Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen in his edition of *The Encantadas* (Burlingame, Cal., 1940), p. 115; this may have been the day on which the agreement was forwarded to Melville from New York.

³See Melville's accompanying note, printed in *Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904*, in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, ed. V. H. Paltsits (New York Public Library, 1929), p. 12.

⁴*Criterion*, I, No. 23, 353 (April 5, 1856). The book was printed by Miller & Holman, printers and stereotypers, New York City.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, No. 27, 16 (May 3, 1856). In the same issue, p. 8, the author of the column "Literary Intelligence," having misread the advertisement of Dix & Edwards, listed three other works then in preparation as Melville's: "*Correspondence*, *Oriental Acquaintance*, and *Letters from Asia Minor*." The advertisement itself, however, presumably refers to a then forthcoming work by J. W. De Forest, *Oriental Acquaintance; or, Letters from Syria* (1856), published by Dix & Edwards, and not to projected works by Melville. See the late Robert S. Forsythe's review of Melville's *Journal up the Straits*, ed. Raymond Weaver (New York, 1935), in *American Literature*, VIII, 87 (March, 1936).

⁶I am indebted to Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Curator of the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Congress, for supplying this information from records of the Clerk's Office of the Southern District of New York.

⁷See "List of Announcements of Forthcoming Works," *American Pub-*

A report on the sale of the book up to August 28, 1856, rendered at Melville's request by Dix & Edwards, reveals that the book had not then returned the expenses of publication, which amounted to \$1,048.62. Of 2,500 copies bound, 1,193 remained on hand, 260 had been given free to editors, and 1,047 had been sold at sixty cents apiece, realizing \$628.20. The following letters, previously unpublished, accompanied the statement:

New York August 30th 1856

Herman Melville Esqr

Dear Sir:—

In reply to your favor of 25th inst. we beg to enclose a statement of sales of *Piazza Tales* to this date, by which you will see that it has not yet paid expenses.

We published late in May, and business has been dull since that time, but is reviving with the opening of fall trade, and we feel the good influence upon sales of all our books.

The statement of Cost does not include any advertising or incidental expenses—We hope our next statement will show a handsome return.

Yours respectfully

Dix, Edwards & Co *

The "next statement" promised Melville seems not to have survived, but the fact that the same house published his next work, *The Confidence-Man*, indicates that he was not dissatisfied with the handling of *The Piazza Tales*.⁹

The above records are interesting as a revelation of Melville's manner of dealing with his publishers, and of value in suggesting a date early in February, 1856, for the composition of the symbolic sketch entitled "The Piazza." The fact that Melville undertook

ishers' Circular, II, No. 21, 306 (May 24, 1856), and "Review of the Week," *Ibid.*, II, No. 22, 318 (May 31, 1856). *Criterion*, II, No. 31 (May 31, 1856), lists the book among "New Publications" (p. 78) and gives it a brief favorable notice (p. 74). Willard Thorp, *Herman Melville: Representative Selections* (New York, 1938), cites three later reviews (pp. cxxv, cxlv); R. S. Forsythe, reviewing Thorp in *American Literature*, XI, 93 f. (March, 1939), declared that there were more than a dozen.

* The letter and statement are now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library.

⁹ The agreement covering *The Confidence-Man*, signed in Melville's behalf by his brother Allan on October 28, 1856, is now in the Melville Collection of the Harvard University Library.

to reprint a series of magazine pieces in book form perhaps emphasizes his financial difficulties during this period of his life for which so few biographical facts are known.

MERTON M. SEALTS

U. S. Army Corps

THE MEANING OF POE'S "ELDORADO"

As usually interpreted, Poe's "Eldorado" (1849) is a poem with an idealistic message, the substance of which is contained in the final stanza:

"Over the Mountains
Of the Moon,
Down the Valley of the Shadow,
Ride, boldly ride,"
The shade replied,—
"If you seek for Eldorado!"

Thirty years ago C. Alphonso Smith stated his belief that this stanza expressed "the unconquerable idealism of the poet and the idealism of the nation whose fame he carried into all lands."¹ Various subsequent commentators have echoed Professor Smith's exegesis. For example, Killis Campbell considers the poem to be "finely emblematic of Poe's own faith and aspirations";² Margaret Alterton and Hardin Craig say: "Poe writes of the search for the golden land as the quest of human happiness in which man never tires. 'Eldorado' is . . . a noble expression of the ideal as Poe sought it, and as all men, to some extent at least, also seek it";³ and Harry Hayden Clark describes the poem as "representing Poe's ideality."⁴

Finding it difficult to envisage the author of "The Conqueror Worm" joining hands with the author of "Childe Roland to the

¹ C. Alphonso Smith, "Our Heritage of Idealism," *Sewanee Review*, xx, 248-249 (April, 1912).

² Killis Campbell, *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1917), 286.

³ Margaret Alterton and Hardin Craig, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1935), 507.

⁴ Harry Hayden Clark, *Major American Poets* (New York, 1936), 844. Other well known studies of Poe, such as those by G. E. Woodberry, Mary E. Phillips, Hervey Allen, Una Pope-Hennessy, Edward Shanks, and A. H. Quinn, make little or no attempt at interpretation of the poem.

Dark Tower Came," I should like to offer an interpretation that seems to me more characteristic of Poe than those summarized above. The poem was written in the last year of the poet's life, during which he had moments of realization that the end was not far off and that it would be welcome when it came;⁵ and in this mood, I believe, he used the mythical Eldorado, suggested by the gold rush of 1849, to symbolize death, the land of gold for him. The route to this realm lies "over the mountains of the moon" and "down the valley of the shadow." The latter phrase is, of course, one of the most familiar symbols of the approach to death, and is so used by Poe in his prose tale, "Shadow. A Parable." While the reference to the moon is a less evident emblem, it should be pointed out that in other poems, e. g., "Dreams" and "Evening Star," he represents the moon as cold and unearthly, and in "Tamerlane" (ll. 201-206) her beams "will seem . . . a portrait taken after death." Hence one is warranted in viewing the road which the knight is enjoined to traverse, not as a series of obstacles that must be faced if one seeks to attain the goal of the ideal; rather it is the pathway that ushers one into the Eldorado of death. The guide who directs the knight to this route is a "pilgrim shadow" or "shade," presumably a spirit returned from the other world (or possibly, as in "Shadow," a composite of all departed spirits), who has learned by experience that Eldorado is to be found not in life but in death.

Poe's only other allusion to Eldorado, in verse at least, occurs in "Dream-Land" (1844), which land he describes in part in these lines:

For the heart whose woes are legion
'T is a peaceful, soothing region—
For the spirit that walks in shadow
'T is—oh, 't is an Eldorado!

The parallel is somewhat close, for again a realm that makes possible an escape from "the fever called 'Living'" is a land of gold. That such a philosophy of life, for poetic purposes at any rate, had seized the poet's mind at the outset of his literary career is evident from "The Lake" (1827), which ends with the following stanza:

Death was in that poisonous wave,
And in its gulf a fitting grave

⁵ Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), 618.

For him who thence could solace bring
 To his lone imagining,
 Whose solitary soul could make
 An Eden of that dim lake.

Poe's thanatopsis, first and last, would seem to have been essentially consistent: in his youth the domain of death was an Eden, and in the last year of his life it was Eldorado.

ORAL SUMNER COAD

New Jersey College for Women

REVIEWS

Norwegian Word Studies. By EINAR HAUGEN. Vol. 1: The Vocabularies of Sigrid Undset and Ivar Aasen (pp. 30, xvii, 189, xxi, 157, xii, 78); Vol. 2: The Vocabularies of the Old Norse Sagas and of Henrik Wergeland (pp. xvi, 166, xvii, 338). Distributed by The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1942.

These are two thick typewritten (mimeographed) volumes, each of which is divided into several sections with different pagination (sometimes lacking). The first volume is headed by a General Introduction (pp. 30) in which the history, the description, and the uses of word counts are surveyed. In this part I miss a reference to any of the several concordances or *ordskatter* that have been published in Scandinavia, especially Sweden and Finland, headed by L. Larsson's excellent book *Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna* (Lund, 1891).¹ This book is a morphological-lexical compilation of all words (in all their occurrences) in the oldest Icelandic manuscripts, so arranged, that one can count all the occurrences of any word, either in any of the works separately, or in them all together. Haugen singles out Heffner-Lehmann's index to the poems of Walther von der Vogelweide (Madison, 1940) as "the most meticulous analysis available," but from the description it appears that these scholars have followed exactly the method adopted long ago by the Swedish-Finnish scholars.

It is true, of course, that Haugen's word lists are not so much

¹ Others: H. Pipping, *Äldre Västgötalagens ordsfatt*, Helsingfors, 1913, and A. Nordling, *Ordsfatten i Södermannalagens textcodez*, Helsingfors, 1928.

related to these old grammatical concordances as to the more modern frequency dictionaries and word lists for pedagogical purposes,—of which he gives a list for the modern Scandinavian tongues. Haugen's interest in these lists began, he tells us, when he was making a textbook of elementary Norwegian, but the present work was made possible through the employment of some 3-35 WPA workers. As these were of very different quality, some errors could not be avoided, but Haugen has considered them too insignificant to be weeded out at the cost of a great deal of money and work. I am inclined to agree with him on this point, though it can not be denied that the work is somewhat disfigured by these errors.

The exact titles of the following parts is as follows:

- Part II: Sigrid Undset's Novels of Medieval Life,
- Part III: Sigrid Undset's Early Stories of Modern Life,
- Part IV: Ivar Aasen's Writings in New Norse.

In the second volume:

- Part I: Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, *Egils saga*, and *Njáls saga*,
- Part II: The Belles Lettres of Henrik Wergeland.

Each of these parts is preceded by an introduction in two parts, the first being a concise orientation of the literary position of the work, the second dealing with more specific problems of style as reflected in the language of the writer. In general this linguistic scrutiny of the modern authors tends to fix their place in the changing tradition of Modern Norwegian with its two linguistic polarities: the Danish (to some extent native East Norwegian), and the native New Norse, rooted in the rural dialects, especially of the West, most nearly related to the Old Norwegian and to Old Icelandic.

The choice of the texts reflects Haugen's desire to cut straight through to this central problem in the development of the Norwegian language. Wergeland, the early 19th century romantic poet, still stands in the flourishing Dano-Norwegian period, with stress on conformity to Danish orthography and forms, if not pronunciation. Undset stands in the stream of that same tradition, later by a century, but influenced in two ways: by the *landsmaal*-movement, though she does not share it, and by the Icelandic sagas. The latter influence is made neatly clear by Haugen's comparison of her language on two levels: the early modern, and the later medieval stories.

While Wergeland and Undset represent the *riksmaal*, Aasen represents the *landsmaal* which he created, so to speak, single-handed out of the material of the rural dialects with the Old Norse as a corrective norm.

Finally, for the sake of comparison, Haugen gives the word-board of three major Icelandic sagas: *Heimskringla*, *Egils saga* and *Njála*. As usual Haugen's selection of texts is happy, and

that not only for linguistic purposes. For by giving the vocabulary of these three texts he has laid ideal foundations for further study into the vexed question of *Egils saga's* authorship, a question that had already been put on a firm basis by Wieselgren's dissertation (*Egla*, 1927) and materially furthered by Nordal's edition (*Íslensk fornrit* II, 1933). Wieselgren tried to disprove Snorri's authorship of *Egla* by showing the differences in usage, but Nordal demonstrated that Wieselgren did not sufficiently take into account the changes wrought by later scribes, notably the scribe of *Möðruvallabók*, who is shown to have abbreviated his text. Though this source of error remains, there seems to be hope that one could show by the use of Haugen's wordlists a significant similarity between *Heimskringla* and *Egla* as against *Njála*, which undoubtedly is by a different author.

Here I shall add a few remarks as to Haugen's method and how the work has been done. His list is a typographical one, lumping different words in one count if they are formally alike. Thus we find the form *er* occurring 5957 times in *Hkr* (Haugen's a, b, c), 1688 times in *Egla* (Haugen's e), and 1881 times in *Njála* (Haugen's n). But no distinction is made between *er* (he, she, it) is, *er* relative pronoun and *er* temporal conjunction. Of words occurring five times or less all occurrences are given with references to page and line (*Hkr.*), chapter and paragraph (*Njála*), or page and centimeter from the top (*Egla*).

For words occurring 6-200 times one reference is given to their first occurrence, but the number of occurrences in each work (*Hkr.*, *Egla*, *Njála*) is given in parenthesis after the word, e.g. *fylkingu* (7-1-0) a 204. 3, i. e. it occurs seven times in *Hkr.* (first occurrence in vol. I, p. 204. 3) once in *Egla*, never in *Njála*. For words occurring more than 200 times no reference is given, but the number of occurrences is stated.

Haugen warns the users of his lists that he has not been able to eliminate errors, especially typographical, though he has printed some errata at the end of each of his parts. Glancing over the Norwegian lists, I have been unable to spot any errors. More is naturally found in the Old Norse parts, the language being foreign to the author, and involving extensive use of accents unfamiliar to the typists. When these accents are found on top of consonants they are easily disregarded as printer's errors, since no consonants are so marked in Icelandic. The mistakes are worse in the vowels, yet, they are not too serious, since accented and unaccented vowels are arranged together in the alphabet. An occasional *d* for the Icelandic *ð* is not serious for the same reason. It is much worse when a *p* is substituted for *þ*, since *þ* is listed after *z* in the alphabet. Thus we find *íprótt*, *ípróttir* and *íprótt*, *ípróttir* in different places, the first two are given as occurring once in *Hkr.*, while the latter occur (6-1-i) and (7-1-1) times respectively. The corrected numbers will thus be (7-1-1) and (8-1-1).

In the letter *a(á)* (7½ pp.) I have found 26 printer's errors (only one listed in the errata). Of these ten involve a wrongly put or omitted accent mark ('); in most of the cases this is plain from the preceding or following words, e. g. *Astu* for *Ástu*. But it is not so plain that *ámbi* should be *ambi*. In other cases there has been a substitution of letters *ájálfr* for *sjálfr*, *áleidis* for *áleiðis*, *apyrja* for *spyrja*, *apyrr* for *spyr*, *ar* for *at*, *argeirinn* for *atgeirinn*, *avá* for *svá*, *Apardjónar* for *Apardjónar*, *aptr* for *aptr*. Finally there are omissions or interchange of letters *allfolmennr* for *allfjollmennr*, *Álpat-* for *Álpta-*, *Auðjarnar* for *Auðbjarnar*, *austanverði* for *austanverðri*, *áþýðu* for *alþýðu*. In one case, I suspect a printer's error in F. Jónsson's edition of *Hkr.* (vol. II, p. 150. 7: *almikit* for *allmikit*), but if it is one F. Jónsson repeated it in his 1911 edition (p. 245. 5).

It is obvious from this that the users of the index must be on their guard against errors, and Haugen himself so warns the reader. On the other hand, I found no wrong reference, so that the error, once spotted, was easily corrected by reference to the texts. I think therefore that the lists will be found to be useful tools in spite of their shortcomings.

The compiler deserves warm thanks for his energy in completing this by no means easy job.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Walt Whitman: Poet of Democracy. By HUGH L'ANSON FAUSSET.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. 320. \$3.00.

Among the multiplicity of books treating Whitman, it is a pleasant surprise to find one that sounds a new valid note. Fausset's study does this neatly, deftly, if not always infallibly. The author is competent to examine in detail the nature of the poetic process, as he has already done admirably with the English Romantic poets and others. He illuminates the tortured ways of Whitman's erratic method of composition. But on the whole, the present volume cannot boast the quintessential definitiveness that has characterized this Englishman's previous analyses of English minds. Fausset is not at home in America.

A thoughtful reading of this primarily critical biography quickens one's perceptions of problems in today's world. But, in his zeal to interpret Whitman for modern readers, Fausset sometimes lugs in comments that seem frank bids to make the book fit the contemporary audience. This "dates" it definitely and it may prove less lasting in its appeal for that reason. A more objective approach, letting facts speak for themselves with a minimum of personal comment or interpretation, would probably have produced a more lasting contribution to Whitman scholarship. Yet no stu-

dent or reader of Whitman can afford to miss this well directed effort to meet the long-felt need for a semi-scholarly, readable handbook of Whitman's life and works. Further, the present volume includes some material not utilized in the excellent earlier biographies by Bliss Perry and Emory Holloway.

Usually cautious, the author does take one long chance in stipulating definitely that Whitman was homosexual, or possessed an "unusually bi-sexual nature." So far as known, there is no proof except inferences from what might be considered strong internal evidence. Fausset adroitly presses this method of induction to its maximum limits, proceeding entirely upon the basis of psychological probability.

The primary motivation of this review is to evaluate Fausset's work as a permanent contribution to essential knowledge of Whitman. It is surprising to find this brilliant and experienced writer, meticulous in most respects, allowing frequent slight inaccuracies to give a slipshod effect not in keeping with the general scholarly tone. In addition to inaccurate quotations, there are numerous errors or mistaken assumptions, such as the following, which should be corrected for serious students or researchers:

- P. 299. "Mark Conway" should read "Moncure D. Conway,"
- P. 312. (Index) Mark Conway and Moncure D. Conway are listed as separate individuals, but are really the same.
- P. 63. "No copy of it [*The Freeman*] has survived." See illustration of a copy in the catalogue of the American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc., New York, Sale No. 4252, April 15-16, 1936.
- P. 100. "The first edition of *Leaves of Grass* . . . was advertised for sale in the *New York Tribune* for July 6th, 1855." Conclusive arguments in favor of the Fourth of July as the first day of issue are advanced by Ralph Adimari in *The American Book Collector*, vol. v, pp. 150-152. It should also be noted that the *New York Times* carried announcements that Fowler and Wells, who handled the book, would be open July 4, 1855.
- P. 11. "The Whitmans were buried under unlettered stones." Whitman himself, describing the family burial ground, speaks only of "crumbled and broken stones, covered with moss" (see "The Old Whitman and Van Velsor Cemeteries" in *Specimen Days*). Joseph Pennell, in his drawing of the spot made in 1881, clearly indicates letters on the stones (see R. M. Bucke, *Walt Whitman*, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 17).
- P. 22. "Before 1836 was over . . . he had left New York and did not return to it for nearly five years." Whitman notebooks in the Library of Congress contain these statements: "I went up to Hempstead from New York 1st of May 1836," and later, "Came down to New York (after selling Nina) in the summer of '39." (Emory Holloway, *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, II, 86, 87.)
- P. 17. "An inner division, extreme enough in two of his brothers to cause actual insanity, created in him only difficult moods." This statement, important because of its bearing on Fausset's fundamental psychological thesis that Whitman had a split personality, has been refuted authoritatively by Frances Win-

war in "The Dual Personality of Walt Whitman," *New York Times Book Review*, June 14, 1942, p. 5.

- P. 138. "It [Whitman's famous walk with Emerson on Boston Common in 1860] happened on a bright keen February day." But Whitman did not go to Boston until March 15 of that year, and wrote to Abby M. Price about his visit with Emerson, saying that it occurred immediately after the middle of March. See C. J. Furness, "Walt Whitman Looks at Boston," *New England Quarterly*, I, 358-359.

- P. 198. "Whitman . . . only recognized Lincoln's true worth fully at his death. Later, indeed, he described the days following the disastrous battle of Bull Run in July, 1861, as those in which he had first realized Lincoln's unconquerable qualities. But, in fact, it seems probable that he still shared to some extent the average American's distrust of the President after that date." But Whitman wrote to his mother, October 11, 1863, "I believe fully in Lincoln" (*The Wound-Dresser*, p. 129), and on October 15, 1863 he wrote to Abby Price, "I believe fully in Lincoln—few know the rocks and quicksands he has to steer through and over" (R. M. Bucke, *Walt Whitman*, p. 40). Again to his mother, October 27, 1863: "I have finally made up my mind that Mr. Lincoln has done as good as a human man could do. I still think him a pretty big President" (*The Wound-Dresser*, p. 139). In a MS. diary in the Library of Congress, Whitman wrote under date of October 31, 1863: "Called at the President's house on John Hay. Saw Mr. Lincoln standing, talking with a gentleman, apparently a dear friend. His face and manner have an expression inexpressibly sweet—one hand on his friend's shoulder, the other holding his hand. I love the President personally." Other corrections have been suggested in C. J. Furness, "He Heard America Singing," *Saturday Review of Literature*, July 18, 1942, pp. 6-7. Also in *New England Quarterly*, September, 1942, pp. 557-560.

Moreover, sources are seldom cited, so that the usefulness of the book as a standard reference work is limited.

In spite of deficiencies from the standpoint of pure scholarship, however, Fausset is to be congratulated for providing what is distressingly rare in these days: a balanced mental ration. We see Whitman the man and Whitman the poet "in the round." The author clearly delineates Whitman's limitations, which are sufficiently obvious, though their psychological and esthetic explanation has not always been handled so clearly or so cleverly by other analysts. At the same time we are given a grateful picture of the genius that would admit no compromise with the consecrated goal to "make the works." It would be hard to produce a more moving re-vivification of the spirit of Walt Whitman for the contemporary lay-reader than that offered by Mr. Fausset.

CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS

New England Conservatory

Thraliana. The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776-1809. Edited by KATHARINE C. BALDERSTON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1942. 2 vols., pp. xxxvi + 1192. \$15.00.

In the course of filling six volumes of manuscript with a personal record which is something between a journal and a commonplace book Hester Thrale repeatedly speculated upon the probable destiny of her "farrago," seeming to hesitate between the hope and the fear of its ultimate publication. It is certain that she never foresaw anything like its appearance in two handsome volumes from the distinguished press of Johnson's university, edited by a scholar of her own sex with a devotion suitable to a work of serious literature, and provided with an index (a good one) of ninety-one pages. One would like to have her own mock review of *Thraliana* in the vein of those which she wrote for her own *Letters to and from Dr. Johnson* and *Retrospection*. It might serve to keep an earnest modern reviewer from being too earnest, even on subjects Johnsonian.

The general character of *Thraliana* has long been well known, and its contents have been intensively, if not extensively, quarried, by the author herself for her *Anecdotes*, by Hayward for his *Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*, and by Hughes for *Mrs. Piozzi's Thraliana*. Although the previously published excerpts amount to less than a fourteenth of the original, they have been cunningly chosen, and the Johnsonian reader, at least, who picks up these volumes rejoicing in the promise of their weight is bound to feel some disappointment that they do not yield him more that is new. The avowed Thralian, however, or the confirmed relisher of diaries will have no cause for complaint. The book will keep him for thirty-three years in the intimate company of a woman who made an art of being good company for two husbands, for their friends and her own, and, what a Johnson could never achieve, for herself.

Thraliana has the advantage over most regular diaries that the entries are seldom the result of mere habit or sense of duty and the advantage over most commonplace books that the anecdotes, jests, verses, and what not are usually set in a context of personal feeling and first-hand experience. The defects of its narrative thread are of less account now that it can be read with Mr. J. L. Clifford's biography at the elbow, and that is how it should be read. Boswell's *Life* at the other elbow is taken for granted.

The limitations of Mrs. Thrale's learning and literary judgment are here fully displayed. Some of the puns and witticisms which she thought worth recording are sad stuff indeed, and the occasional and other verses from her own and her acquaintances' pens, if segregated into an anthology, would make a volume appropriate

for shelving with the *Florence Miscellany*. Her continual ventures into etymological conjecture are at first amusing and then wearisome in their amateurishness. Her zeal in finding literary "sources" is often on the same uncritical level. There is only too much evidence of her inaccuracy in small details. Her errant style with its armory of dashes and ampersands will vex the orderly in almost every entry of any length. In short, she is consistently "unscholarly," to apply a word of great usefulness in damning a lively mind. Yet there are still not a few shrewd comments on current literature, as when she calls *The Mysteries of Udolpho* as like *Macbeth* "as Pepper-Mint Water to good Brandy" or remarks in August, 1808:

The fashionable Poetry of Southey and Scott will fall into Decay— . . . Madoc and Thalaba, Teviot Dale and Marmion depend too much on their Colouring: In a hundred Years People will wonder why they were so admired—.

But *Thraliana* is primarily a book about people and about human nature. It is the author's way to follow a particular anecdote with a general remark on the quality of mind or character which it betrays. There is less gossip in the narrower sense than might be expected, less certainly than some readers would like; there is little matter that is recognizably spiteful and much that is clearly magnanimous. The author records the receipt of Baretti's insulting letter on her marriage with less indignation than it deserved (in the same passage she merely calls Johnson's famous letter *rough*), and concludes calmly, "but I think the man is fit for Bedlam." Nor could one ask a more sensible attitude toward the flirtation of Sophia Streatfeild and Henry Thrale. A comment (suggestive of Johnson) on Italy in 1786 would make a fair motto for much of the journal: "Nothing is either as good or as bad as one *hears* it is."

She is an analytical observer of people, as the scoring of her friends in a table of personal qualities clearly shows. She does not forget to analyze herself, and it must be allowed that she does it without mock-modesty, morbidity, or the anxious self-justification of a Boswell. In the crisis following her renunciation of Piozzi there are some passages too suggestive of a sentimental novel for some tastes. That they were not mere false rhetoric the whole second volume with its record of her devotion to the man abundantly testifies. Her defense against the charge of emptiness deserves quotation:

Often have I spoken what I have repented after, but that was want of *Judgment*—not of *Meaning*; what I said, I meant to say at the *Time*; & thought it best to say—I do not err from *Haste*, or a *Spirit of Rattling* as People think I do: when I err, tis because I make a false *Conclusion*, not because I make no *Conclusion* at all. When I rattle, I rattle *on purpose*. (17 Jan. 1789)

Miss Balderston has annotated the text sensibly and adequately, without over-editing. The Introduction is brief and well balanced, with a remarkable "character" of Mrs. Thrale in a single sentence on p. x. Some of the notes are skillful summaries of previous research or controversy. The long note on pp. 810-11 well presents the case against Boswell's treatment of the lady, but slips in denying the survival of Boswell's journal for the spring of 1778, which exists, though unavailable, among the Fettercairn Papers. The typography is of the expected excellence, but clearer differentiation of the editor's footnotes from the marginal notes of Mrs. Thrale would have been a convenience.

RICHARD L. GREENE

The University of Rochester

The Correspondence of Richard Steele. Edited by RAE BLANCHARD.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxviii + 562.
\$10.00.

Professor Blanchard's task of collecting and editing the correspondence of Steele was far more difficult and exacting than is realized by most readers, and she can be warmly congratulated on the results. Her work is the basis for all future scholarship in the immediate field: she has produced the first satisfactory text of all Steele's letters and those addressed to him; she has gone to extremes in assaying and printing every scrap of extant material; she has annotated as fully as was possible; and has solved numerous knotty problems of chronology and arrangement. Her work does not, however, follow the orthodox pattern. Instead of presenting the reader with one chronological list of letters, she divides her items into (I) general correspondence, (II) family correspondence, and (III) miscellaneous printed letters and papers. She prints her notes immediately after the text of each letter; she includes fragments and summaries of letters from auction catalogues and other sources, and finally she includes (in ten instances) letters neither written by nor addressed to Steele, when these throw light on the Steele correspondence.

The present reviewer has found his own knowledge of the days of Addison and Steele so enriched by the investigations of Professor Blanchard that he hesitates to make certain observations which will occur to some students of this volume. Nevertheless, the division of the contents raises once more the question whether there is any wiser arrangement than the orthodox single chronological listing. It is quickly apparent that any student interested in Steele's literary or political life must read the "family correspondence" with as much thoroughness as the "general correspondence." One may point to letters 212, 226, 260, 280, 282, 333,

334, 340, 364, 371, 374, and others, for illustrations of the fact that Steele's family affairs and public life were inextricably intertwined. The three-fold division of the correspondence may have its value to the casual reader; it certainly is an inconvenience to the scholar. In the second place, the practice of printing the notes immediately after each letter, which appears at first an admirable innovation, frequently requires the reader to turn the page to find his note.

The reviewer holds no brief for the lazy scholar; and he realizes that these minor questions of method do not affect seriously the solid accomplishment of Professor Blanchard. Yet they are of some importance to future editors of correspondence, since it is almost inevitable that those who venture into this exacting field of scholarship do so without previous experience or knowledge of the problems involved. In the main, the Editor has carried through her difficult task with competence and judgment. In its own field, her book must be regarded as one of the most important publications of recent years.

WALTER GRAHAM

University of Illinois

Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls Ms. 182.

Edited by M. DOMINICA LEGGE. Published for the Anglo-Norman Text Society. Basil Blackwell: Oxford (1941). Pp. xxiii + 495.

All Souls Ms. 182 is an Anglo-Norman letter-book compiled in the first half of the fifteenth century. It contains forty-one petitions and four hundred and twelve letters. The majority of the letters that can be dated were written between 1390 and 1412. While there is a wide range of addressors and addressees, the bulk of the letters fall into three groups—those written by or addressed to the sons and grandsons of Edward III, the two Arundel brothers, and Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich and his relatives. They cover, as the examples in a letter-book should, almost every subject about which one might want to write a letter.

The work of Miss Legge as editor is highly satisfactory. She has shown a broad knowledge of the period, rare ingenuity, and incredible industry in identifying the many obscure persons mentioned in the letters. Her historical notes are accurate, brief, and to the point. A few identifications seem to rest on rather slender foundations, but the reader can easily reject these if he wishes. Real slips are rare. I cannot see how Miss Legge gets Norfolk out of North' in letter forty-two, but as the letter is addressed to the bishop of Norwich the error is understandable.

There is one question that should be brought up less as a criticism of Miss Legge than as a plea to future editors of similar letter-books. While this volume is a veritable mine of material for the specialist in almost every phase of English mediaeval history, few will be able to use it effectively. The historian who is writing the history of the period covered by the letters will obviously read the book through. The biographer can use the index of names. But what of the specialist in a branch of history—the social or the legal historian? To read four hundred and twenty letters for a few nuggets, no matter how valuable they may be, is too much labor. In short a volume of this sort that contains material on every conceivable subject is almost useless for many scholars without a subject index.

SIDNEY PAINTER

The Johns Hopkins University

BRIEF MENTION

Victorian Prelude, a History of English Manners, 1700-1830. By MAURICE J. QUINLAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 301. \$3.00. Readers of Sir Herbert Grierson's *Cross Currents in English Literature* will remember how he opens the book with a reference to an essay that appeared in 1823 by one Joseph Foster "On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion." To Grierson the publication of this essay when the Romantic Movement was at its height was merely one more symptom of an age-old conflict that had been particularly acute in the seventeenth century; but Mr. Quinlan is able to show that Foster (whom, incidentally, he does not mention) was typical of an increasingly influential section of public opinion in his day, and is part of the historical phenomenon which he has set out to investigate.

Mr. Quinlan has written a pleasant and interesting book, but if he finds the present reviewer a little disposed to be critical he must attribute the fact in large measure to his sub-title. The book is *not* a "history of English manners from 1700 to 1830"; it is at most a history of one section of the populace and its steadily increasing influence. It tells the story of the philanthropic societies and the Evangelical Movement, tracing their effect on manners and opinions.

Americans abroad have often felt bewildered and hurt to find their country judged solely by Prohibition, the Scopes trial, or the Saccho and Vanzetti trial. To take Mr. Quinlan's book at its face

value would be to pass a similarly distorted judgment. His England is not the England of Fielding or Jane Austin, or even of *Pendennis* and *Nicholas Nickleby*; it is a far bleaker place, obsessed by a much more rigorous way of life. The reader needs some corrective to redress the balance. It would be too extreme to recommend Byron's letters to Lady Melbourne as an antidote; it would probably suffice to set the circulation of *The Edinburgh Review* or *Blackwood's* alongside that of *The Methodist Magazine* or *The Evangelical Magazine*. Other values beside those of the Evangelicals persisted; "men of taste," for example, may eventually have been forced into a defensive position, as Matthew Arnold's career proves, but they were never completely routed.

Two minor matters: the annotator referred to in the note on page 205 is almost certainly the Oxford antiquary Philip Bliss, and is therefore to be trusted. On page 246 Mr. Quinlan has done a grave injustice to the renowned Mr. Bowdler; he has either been misled into thinking that his edition of Shakespeare is the same as that which Bowdler used, or he has neglected to glance at the textual notes. Many of the excisions and inconsistencies in *I Henry IV* to which he refers were due not to Bowdler but to the editors of the First Folio, and were the result of the Jacobean regulations against profanity on the stage.

R. C. BALD

Cornell University

CORRESPONDENCE

THE RUIN AGAIN. Dr. C. W. Kennedy (*The Earliest English Poetry*, p. 115) makes this statement: "the identification of the poem with Bath has been generally accepted. How strong is the evidence which supports this theory is clearly shown by Miss Hotchner in her monograph of 1939." Miss Hotchner¹ seeks to vitiate the theory set forth by me in *MLN.*, LVI (1939), 37-39, that the scene described by the author of the *Ruin* was the Roman wall and its adjuncts, rather than Bath, because she prefers to have the poem written in Wessex. (This in spite of the fact that OE poets were scarcely circumscribed in the geographical distribution of their subject-matter.) Her book abounds with errors of fact and inference as the following random examples show.

Miss Hotchner introduces her reconstruction of the text with these words: "it seems advisable, before entering upon the analysis, to present the text of *The Ruin*, in its entirety."² The damaged state of the MS. makes this utterly impossible.

¹ *Wessex And Old English Poetry, With Special Consideration of The Ruin*. By Cecilia A. Hotchner. New York, 1939.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

Miss Hotchner has not seen the Wall, Bath, or any Roman remains *in situ*. It is not requisite that she should have, but had she first-hand knowledge she would not have gained the impression that tiles are unusual, that the sooty structure of Roman heating arrangements (at the Wall, occasionally still complete with coal) is hard to identify or that Bath is ten miles above sea-level.²

Her use of printed material leads to rather unexpected results. For example, she cites (without comment or the slightest attempt at reconciliation) contradictory passages from two books in a single paragraph. "Hadrian's Wall . . . never for a moment left unguarded" (p. 13). "Historians tell us that the mural garrison was once and again defeated and driven out of their strongholds" (p. 15).

Old English semantics has its pitfalls for our author. Let us take as an example *hringmere*, which is a kenning and an hapax legomenon. The meaning of its component elements is clear, but this does not mean that the meaning of the compound is necessarily the sum of the apparent meanings of its parts, e.g. *gar-secg*, and since it appears in a very defective passage associated only with a fragmentary preceding word (probably to be read *oððæt* and a single following word (*hāte*), the precise modern English equivalent must remain at least speculative. Miss Hotchner translates it in two different ways, herself, but feels that its presence in the poem localizes the scene in Bath, saying: "The rareness of circular baths, in Roman Britain is attested by the fact that only at Bath is one recorded" (p. 46). There are other baths in Roman Britain to which either of her translations might apply. Apsidal baths occur (at the Wall, for instance) and there are cases of two apsidal baths facing each other. There is a pretty good round bath at Mumrills, a photograph of which may be consulted in Sir George Macdonald's *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1934), facing p. 72. The appearance of the word *hringmere* in the poem does not identify the site with Bath, or any of several other places, the Wall included.

" . . . the poem tells us very plainly that a city is its subject. Note such expression as *burgstede* (2), *burgwæced* (21), *burgsteall* (28), and *burg* (37, 49)." No authorities are cited for this simplification (p. 11) of the semantics of *burg*, and the best would hardly support it. Even if the meaning of the word were restricted in the way she feels it should be, it would not affect my contention that the poem refers to the Wall and near-by structures. There were cities adjacent to the Wall.

"If the Saxons had found no evidence of a military station at Aquae Sulis, would they have chosen a name with the suffix -ceaster?" (p. 19). Haverfield and Macdonald⁴ answer thus: "In literary Anglo-Saxon 'chester' was used without reference to the Romans, or to any special people or persons, to denote any enclosed place, inhabited or meant for inhabita-

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-52. "When we realize that the Great Bath is fed by boiling water gushing forth from the ground at a temperature of 116° Fahrenheit. . . ."

⁴ *The Roman Occupation of Britain*. Oxford, 1924, p. 213, n.

tion." Again let us suppose that Miss Hotchner is right. Does it affect the argument much? Place-names in *-chester* are very abundant along the Wall.

Miss Hotchner feels that the presence of much Roman tile at Bath can be used to distinguish that site from the one I proposed. Roman tile is found very widely distributed in England and there is a large quantity along the Wall. The great and complicated buildings were not open to the sky. There is red plaster, *in situ*, in various places. There was even a military tile-yard which stamped its regimental identification on its tiles.⁵ Slate was also used, to be sure, but if redness of wall and roof is useful for identifying what the poet was talking about, there is plenty of red tile and plaster at the Wall, as well as at dozens of other places in Britain.

"In this connection note the evidence presented by another station in Herben's list, Benwell (Condercum). In mentioning this he greatly weakens his own case, for here were found in 1766 coins and treasure which had remained buried from the time of Marcus Aurelius. How, then, would the Anglo-Saxon poet have seen them? Logical reasoning (*sic*) and a mere superficial knowledge of human nature prompt the question: If they had been exposed in the eighth century, would greedy and curious hands have permitted them to remain untouched through ten long centuries?" (p. 21). I, of course, did not say that the Anglo-Saxon poet had seen them.

"If Mr. Herben is to convince his readers that the architectural details of the poem are appropriate to Hadrian's Wall, he will have to produce a better illustration than the bridge of Chollerford, for nowhere is a bridge mentioned" (p. 32). Nothing is offered from Bath to illustrate the unusual type of construction specified in ll. 19 and 20 of the poem. Chollerford Bridge fulfills the requirements. Until a better alternative is presented, we may continue to suggest that the poet does mention and does describe a bridge, Chollerford Bridge.

I have already stated that these are but random examples. The adept will find a great many more which I have passed over.

We are reduced by the nature of the problem to conjecture, in this matter. It may be that the poet had another site in mind when he composed his haunting verses, possibly (as I suggested in my original article) Bath, but the person who will demonstrate this must use other and better methods and skills than those of Miss Hotchner, for nothing that she has brought forth in any way necessitates a modification of my statement that the Wall and adjacent structures fulfill every requirement of the poem and that as one who has often visited both sites, I cannot feel otherwise than that the poet was writing about the nearer and infinitely more impressive ruin.

STEPHEN J. HERBEN

Bryn Mawr College

⁵ "... I have been unable to find even the slightest reference to significant roof remains along the northern Border." (Miss Hotchner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.) See Arch. Ael. 1927, p. 183, *inter alia*.

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